The Forum

JUNE, 1923

THE PRESIDENCY IN 1924?

(6) Republican—Medill McCormick

By POLIS

IT'S part of the Medill business to be an independent, though you can spell it reformer or radical instead of independent without hurting the feelings of The Medill. He is dead these twenty-four years, but he never bothered what they called him so long as he got what he wanted, and what he wanted was always the same thing—the back of his hand and the sole of his foot to the other man, who was generally a reactionary. Not that Joseph Medill was a red or a pink. He had no objection to grasping cordially the hand of a man from Wall Street. He was a man of sense, who never saw red, but who knew what was behind everything and had an ungodly love for ripping it inside out.

The Medill was one of those family-founders, whose family flared so high in the bracken as to leave behind a tradition that must be followed. Subsequent Medills must uphold the standard, and the family traits must be found in them, like the families Garet Garrett founds in his novels. Look at the Schuylers and Hamiltons. Look at the following-on Vanderbilts. Rockefeller was and is moral

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and religious, and his son carries the same gonfalon. Look at Gould and his family, and the mess they have made of not carrying on his gonfalon or of carrying it on, as that prolific outfit have chosen. Look at the unvarying Livingstons. It is like the Scotch clans and subdivisions of clans, and the heavy responsibilities that lay upon The Macthis and The Macthat to carry on just as his ancestors did before him.

In the United States these families generally lie not far from the Atlantic Coast, for it is only a gibe that in San Francisco you will hear of "one of our oldest families, one that has been here ever since the fire." The Middle West, at any rate, has families not much younger than the Far East. It is a hundred years, perhaps, since the Porters, the Peter B. Porters, contested ground in Western New York with such success as to land one of their number in the War Department as its chief; and only a few years ago, in this very century, the Wadsworth kingdom was overthrown and the James W. Wadsworth of that day bounced out of Congress at the hands of another Peter B. Porter. How long the Vanderbilts have been in America is a matter of indifference; the founder of the family in any significant sense, as a family with a tradition to carry on, was Commodore Vanderbilt, and he was a contemporary of The Medill. So was Jay Gould, who died seven years before the great man of Chicago.

There were other men of eminence, east and west, but few were the founders of significant families. It is not telling everything that there is a man in New York named Stuyvesant Fish, or that in Massachusetts people expect something from an Endicott, and did until recently from a man named Winthrop—do still if a man is named Adams. All through the Middle West there is no family of this significance except that of The Medill. As Massachusetts expects something of a man named Adams, as the name Hamilton Fish makes a New York head turn around, so the name Medill stands for a definite something which is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

different from any other Chicago name of long standing. There were Chicagoans of Joseph Medill's early days, and they left descendants whose names are treated with respect, but there is no one particular thing that is expected of them.

But of the Medill blood something very particular is expected. The Medill took up his shotgun at a time when there was bear meat in plenty. He was a hunter of wild beasts. He called himself a Republican, and his paper, the best in the West, was the principal Republican newspaper after you rode past the Hudson. It is still. But he never hesitated to lay down the law to the Republican leaders of the nation, and he never hesitated to bolt. Thirteen years after his death his newspaper, having been guided by his hand all that time, bolted. Always he was what he would have called an independent or liberal Republican, like Horace Greeley, who ran as the Democratic Presidential ticket in 1872, or perhaps Gifford Pinchot or Henry J. Allen to-day. Nothing was so Republican that he refrained from taking a shot at it.

Dying, Medill left the one emphatic thing that he had stood for as a legacy. He left no sons, but his life was long, and he brought up his grandchildren by his side, especially his eldest grandson, Medill McCormick. If the various McCormicks and Patersons who were brought up in the old man's presence had shown one whit less independence than they have, had tried to be conservative as the Vanderbilt tail have tried, the Middle West, even the conservative part of it, would have felt that there was something of desertion there, would not have been easy in their presence. Sometimes this raucous independence is displayed in ways that startle people on the seaboard, who do not know much about the riot in the Medill blood, as in the case of a Swiss riding-master of sumptuous benefactions to sensational art, of Socialist play-writing, and so on. Everywhere, though, the Medill blood crops out, and nowhere does it find rule by others.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As for Medill McCormick, he was the eldest, and his grandfather meant him to carry on the business. His tastes, however, lay in politics, and he quickly quit *The Tribune*. which was taken over by his uncle, Robert W. Patterson, who had married one of The Medill's daughters and become co-editor. Medill McCormick began by covering police news, with incidental copy-reading, and in 1901 he was sent as special correspondent to the Philippines, where Richard Henry Little had made a great reputation for the same paper. McCormick made the acquaintance of Governor-General Taft, and was a warm enthusiast for him; and the same was true of "Hell Roaring Jake Smith," whose hell-roaring was mostly vocal but made him into a scapegoat just the same.

When he returned Patterson put him into the business department, but as has been already mentioned his taste was for politics and, though his destination was the ownership of the paper, he was getting sick of keeping away from his ambition. An incident that occurred at that time settled the matter. The Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, which the political wiseacres of the time charged with destroying the Republican Party in the next election, was being rushed through. Later it became more convenient to charge Roosevelt with the defeat. The fact is that Wilson would have been elected if Roosevelt had never run. The Republicans who voted for Roosevelt would have stayed home or voted for Wilson if Roosevelt had not been in the field. This is history. When the McKinley tariff was enacted the people, especially in the West, did not like it. The result was a landslide Democratic House in 1890 and a Democratic President, Senate and House in 1892. In the same fashion, the Payne bill being unpopular, the result was a landslide Democratic Congress in 1910. The coming Republican defeat in 1912 was clearly foreshown, as it always has been when the party in power has failed to carry the mid-Administration election by a good-sized plurality. Roosevelt in 1912 brought out a good many voters who

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would otherwise have stayed home, as they did in the McKinley years of 1890 and 1892. "The women did it," said one of the greatest Republican leaders after 1890, and he meant the McKinley tariff, which boosted prices.

The Middle West was particularly incensed in 1909, as it had been in 1890. McCormick went to Washington and told President Taft that if the bill was jammed through the people would express their opinion of it at the polls, and that the opinion would not be favorable. Taft's reply was angry, and the interview ended, as some such interviews did end with Taft, with a bang of the President's fist on the table. McCormick rushed back to Chicago, resigned from *The Tribune,* and devoted himself to politics. He has never gone back, except that he still owns a minority share of the stock of the corporation.

He allied himself with Gifford Pinchot and others who were trying to organize an anti-Taft movement for the purpose of defeating the Presidential nomination. Pinchot was nominally, at least, the leader, but it included "the seven little Governors" and many other prominent Republicans. They invited Senator La Follette and at first were for his nomination. The big hit made by Roosevelt in Europe and on his return to the United States, convinced them that he would not only have a better chance for the nomination in the face of the Presidential power, but would actually have a chance for election if they ran him independently—at least as good a chance as Taft, for the election of 1910 had made it clear that 1912 was likely to be a Democratic year. They accordingly switched to Roosevelt, though Pinchot's brother and a few others refused to go with them. Mrs. Roosevelt, who felt sure no Republican could be elected, managed at first to keep the Colonel from casting in his lot with them, but the fight raged round him for a year and a half until it got in his blood, and at last, when the seven Governors appealed to him to come to the rescue, he replied, "My hat is in the ring."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The steam roller at Chicago made a bolt inevitable. Nobody could have expected anything else. The trick was turned during the meeting of the National Committee for two weeks before the Convention, when delegates legally elected for Roosevelt were deprived of their seats and a temporary organization effected which would vote to make the robbery authoritative. " I told them at Chicago," the Colonel was fond of saying, "that I would not take it lying down." Nobody dreamed that he would, and nobody was surprised when, headed by Henry J. Allen, now Governor of Kansas, the Roosevelt delegates walked out of the hall to another near by and issued a call for a convention of a new party, the Progressive. They were hissed, of course, and some Roosevelt men remained and insisted on voting for him anyhow, despite Allen's declaration that the Colonel wanted every true follower of his to leave with the rest. The result is that the roll call as now printed in handbooks and manuals does not show the true record.

The new convention was to meet in August and this was only June. However, the party at once effected a temporary organization, ratified in August, and in this organization Medill McCormick was made Vice Chairman of the National Committee. The blood of dead Joseph Medill was stirring strong in him then. It was not often that the old man had bolted, but he was never afraid of it, and he generally got what he wanted without it.

McCormick took charge of the campaign in the West and ran it through that amazing contest, when a new party without a newspaper and with an improvised organization ran second nearly all over the Union and came in second with five of the greatest States in the Union. He ran for the Assembly in Chicago and was elected, though he did not live in the district, and twenty-six other Progressives went in with him. Holding the balance of power, they used it, with McCormick at their head, for the improvement of legislative methods and the State Government.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The enthusiasm of 1912 had begun to spend itself in 1913, though Pinchot was still able to come in second in the Senatorial race in Pennsylvania. But the Fall elections showed that the Republican Progressives were rushing back into the old party. Roosevelt was reproached for quitting the Progressives. "I didn't," he replied; "they quit me." He did run one of the faithful for Governor of New York as late as 1914, and retained his nominal leadership of it until there was nothing left of it but some Southern Democrats like Governor Parker of Louisiana and, in the North, what Roosevelt himself called, "the lunatic fringe." He even held it together until, in appearance, the two parties combined, but it was only an appearance.

At any rate, Medill McCormick saw the times as early as 1916 and rejoined the Republican Party. At least, he ran for the Assembly as a Republican, and was elected, though he publicly announced that he had not given up his old principles. He had been re-elected to the Assembly as a Progressive, but only one other, Herbert Hicks of Rockford, had been elected with him; the other 25 had gone down to defeat. Now, as a Republican, he was nominated for Congressman-at-large and elected, running ahead of his ticket. Again leading his ticket, he was elected Senator in 1918; his managers billboarded the State, "He is in politics for what he can give—not for what he can get."

If that means money, it is correct. If it means power and fame, it is dubitable. From the first Medill McCormick has aimed at power and fame. He isn't so much of a radical as he seems; he trains with that crowd because it trains with some other subjects that he values, such as are to be found in our foreign policy. It is precious little he does for social reform now, but he tags himself with that name because pretty nearly all the social reformers in the Senate are out after the lion's tail and have no use for Japan or for President Harding. McCormick swims in easy waters. He must go through the motions of fighting as old Joe

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fought, and who is discriminating enough to note that it is only motions?

He is ambitious, and his ambition does not stop short of the Presidency. If he rests on his oar at the proper intervals, he may get there. Most of the other anti-Harding men have somehow swum or rowed too fast, and have got themselves into a perspiration. If, at some proper and future, far future, time everything else having gone to McCormick's liking, he were to find himself in a position where he could beckon to the old gray wolves of the Senate, he would not hear them howl, any more than Johnson would have heard them howl if he had been willing to do so in 1920. Well, would McCormick beckon? He saw Johnson lose a Presidency by being too stiff-backed. If there is one thing McCormick isn't, it is stiff-backed.

NEW ENGLAND

By Robert Silliman Hillyer.

Shutters bang in the wind outside
Cobwebs hang from the mildewed walls;
Stale, damp mould in the lifeless cold;
Doors flung wide to the darkened halls.

Love and strength of the new, keen race
Lie full length where the weeds grow high;
All things swept to the past except
This ruined place the wind roars by.

Blank disaster of empty windows;
Broken plaster strewn on the floor;
Darkness spills from the wild, bleak hills,
And the winter wind blows under the door.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PRESIDENCY IN 1924?

(6) Democratic—Alfred E. Smith

By DEMOS

WHETHER the Democrats nominate Al Smith for President next year or not, with the accent on the "not," their Convention will go as mad about him as did the one they held at San Francisco in 1920. They would have nominated him then and they would nominate him now if it were not for one utterly irrelevant thing which they regard as a probable detriment to his vote-getting powers. New York will go to the Convention this time armed with the argument that this irrelevant thing doesn't keep him from being the most popular man in New York with voters of all parties and religions, and from running out of sight of his ticket any time he is nominated for anything, even among people who have never seen him and are hostile to some irrelevant beliefs he entertains; and they will add that since he has twice been elected and his only defeat was no defeat at all, it may be that voters in other States are just as human on the Al Smith subject as those in New York. So Smith may make a better showing in 1924 than he did in 1920 as far as votes are concerned, but about the Convention going crazy over him there is no doubt at all. He will be twice as much its pet and darling as he was in 1920.

For twenty years he was the wearer of the nickname, "Tammany's Best Bet," and when he ran for Sheriff (and was elected, about 50,000 ahead of his ticket, as usual), he was endorsed by the Citizens' Union.

But it was a surprise even to New York Democrats to go to San Francisco and find that the whole country took the same view of him. The Smith demonstration was the great genuine honest-to-God demonstration of the Convention.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of course all candidates get ovations, and when Smith's name was presented a courteous offering of noise was expected. But presently the New York delegation began to look astonished. The blamed thing wouldn't stop. Furthermore, it was spontaneous and natural, and from coast to coast, and no noise-making devices or stimulators of artificial enthusiasm were being employed. Nobody wanted to sit down. They got wilder and wilder. And they all called him "Al," even those from the Pacific Slope, just as he can't put his nose into a New York up-State town without being called "Al." Finally the New York delegation, highly tickled and utterly astounded, raised its standard and began marching around the hall; and standard after standard rose and followed, until forty-eight States were madly parading around the hall and, coming together, massed their standards around New York's, and were standing before the Chair, while the hall rang with the roar of "Al Smith." No greater demonstration could have been deliberately staged for a nominee than for this man who was preparing, after a complimentary ballot from his own State, to slip out of the contest

So the New Yorkers will have that argument to show that voters who do not think alike with Al Smith on irrelevant questions nevertheless love a man they have not seen, as well as the fact that he has since demonstrated the fact again at the New York polls. Personally I think they are right. But he will undoubtedly be defeated in the Convention by the very men who believe the same things, irrelevant to politics and government, that he believes; defeated because they are timid. It is the South that for the last sixteen years has prevented the nomination of a Southern Democrat for President; the Northern Democrats were willing enough, and for that matter so were the Northern Republicans who intended for any reason to bolt their own party ticket. But the Southern Democrats were, and perhaps still are, too timid to nominate one of their own number, no matter what assurances they got from the North.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"It isn't safe" is the only argument against Underwood or Smith. They still believe that Burchard's silly utterance forty years ago about "the party of rum, Romanism and rebellion" is potent in the North, just as the Germans believed the steely and implacable France of 1914 to be the trifling and inefficient France of 1870.

Times change, and nations or sections change with them. If these timid ones could only see it, it is less of a task to convert a bigot in Indiana or Nebraksa to tolerance than it is to get a New York City reformer to believe that anything good can come out of Tammany Hall. Yet when Smith was nominated for Sheriff the New York *Tribune,* which as a Republican newspaper was almost bound to oppose him during the campaign, greeted his nomination with the statement that it would almost pay the City of New York to give him his entire prospective emoluments as Sheriff (then averaging $100,000 a year) to keep him in the Assembly, where he had accomplished more good and done the State and city more service than all the rest of the Legislature put together during the ten years of his service there. Of course there were other Republicans who said the *Tribune* was extremely gullible.

No disrespect is intended by calling the Governor "Al" in this article, nor is it intended to be conveyed that I am treating him with any familiarity. "Al" is simply his name, part of him, in no such sense as "Teddy" was applied to Roosevelt. Nobody ever had the audacity to speak directly to Roosevelt as "Teddy," so far as I know. Even during the time of their closest intimacy Taft never approached nearer than "Theodore." But Smith was actually wounded when people he knew addressed him as "Governor" instead of as "Al." He showed how it was possible, at least for him, to be democratic to the last degree without losing an atom of diginty.

He lives within a stone's throw of where he was born, under the Brooklyn Bridge, in a district that was Irish and English when he was born and now is Italian, Russian, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Southeastern European generally. But he still knows every voter in his district, and it is said of him that when he comes to the city he never goes north of Canal Street—except, of course, to Fourteenth Street and Albany. In that section were born his father, mother, wife, and five children. He had no schooling worth mention, for his father's death when he was thirteen made it necessary for him to go to work driving a truck as long as that father's dwindling business lasted, and after that as a stall keeper in Fulton Market. Long afterward, when some fellow-Assemblymen were passing the time by giving their college degrees, Smith struck in with his own, "F. F. M."

But even as a boy he had a liking for politics, and hung around Tom Foley's club until that shrewd leader saw possibilities in him and tried him out in some minor city offices. By 1903 he had made good so well that he went to the State Assembly, and since then, as Bourke Cockran said of him, the people have never let him get out of office—except for a period of two years after Cockran said this, when he tried to get out and go into the trucking business, his father's old trade, on a large scale. Though Cockran was a gardener of flowers of speech, he spoke the hard truth this time. The people literally will not let him get out of office. They have forced him back every time he has tried to get out. He was the choice of Tammany for Mayor in 1917, as Charles W. Dayton was in 1897, but as in that case the powers that were overrode the popular choice, a thing they were not able to do the next time they tried it. The full story of those nominations, if ever told, will make mighty interesting reading; and maybe some future Gustavus Myers will dig far enough down to find it.

And so, as Smith's nomination was almost forced in 1917 and practically forced in 1918, it was actually forced in the sight of all men and against the will of all the big leaders in 1922. These leaders wanted a program against which the rank and file revolted; but the rank and file wanted leadership and would have had to yield unless it had found a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leader. The only man who could unite and lead them was Al Smith, then trying desparately to keep out of politics and in the trucking business; but the men who had followed him and unquestioningly obeyed every nod or wink of his went to him and said, "We don't care whether you want to keep out of politics or not. Don't you owe us something? Come and lead us now that we need you, as we followed you when you needed us." And Smith stepped down from the truck and came.

The tremendous fight that Smith waged there at Syracuse in favor of what the rank and file wanted is too fresh in everybody's memory to need retelling. It was not a fight for his own nomination, for he was trying to stay out of politics, but there had come to him an irresistible call from all the old privates who had followed his flag in bygone years to lead them even at the cost of defying the bosses; and the success of his fight made his nomination irresistible. Then came sweeping to his standard the people of the State, as they have always done, irrespective of party or creed. Yes, even in 1920, for it was Harding's seven million majority that defeated Smith; morally and as between him and Miller, who came scrambling in by a comparatively small majority on Harding's coat tails, Smith was elected.

The Central point in Smith's popularity is not his universally conceded squareness, nor in that democracy which comes natural to him and in which there is no faint trace of demagogy. It is in the fact that his only interest is in doing the best for what he thinks the welfare of the people. That goes as it lies, and nobody has ever dissented from it, except, of course, in campaign speeches; but the people who heard the campaign speeches did not believe the speaker nor did the speaker himself. Frequently he did not try it, but began by complimenting the Democratic Party on its candidate.

How did Smith, who left school at thirteen, become the brilliant stateman of today? "F. F. M." did not do it. He educated himself, and for a man who has the head for it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that is often the best kind of education. It enabled Lincoln to climb along side Shakespeare. For years before Smith became Speaker of the Assembly he was minority leader there. In the Constitutional Convention of 1915 he led the Democratic side. Cockran, in his speech nominating Smith at San Francisco, said that the Republican leaders publicly complimented him on the wisdom and ability of his advice, and that if they had taken it the Constitution would have been ratified at the polls. He was wrong; they did take it, over and over again, and he was in every sense one of the principal makers of the Constitution. As he discussed the various subjects with such men as Elihu Root, who was the Chairman, they came to have such a profound admiration for him that they could not resist giving tongue to it. And as the Convention neared its close the wisest, clearest-headed Republican statesman in it, Elihu Root, ex-Attorney General George W. Wickersham, Judge Clearwater and the rest, departed from whatever their subject might be to praise the wonderful work of Al Smith. Root, indeed, was quoted as calling him the one man in the State best fitted for dealing with its questions. The Constitution, now admitted to be the best ever offered to the voters of New York, was defeated at the polls because of a certain senseless prejudice of which those who entertained it must by now be heartily ashamed. But the plaudits of these college-bred men for the breadth and scope of mind displayed by the graduated fish-dealer and truckman remain one of the wonders of politics.

Smith has pardoned the Socialists convicted by war-time juries; not because he has any sympathy with Socialism, but because it is contrary to his view of old-fashioned nineteenth century democracy to keep men in jail because of their opinions. He was bred in the simplest school of Jeffersonianism, and has brought his wide, alert mind to bear upon every problem from that school. The social reforms he has championed are all, in his opinion, within the limits of that set of doctrines. He is a speaker who goes straight

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the heart of his auditor, who generally makes a short speech but can make a long one, but never makes a poor or uninteresting one; and he is a fine campaigner. If the men who think as he does on matters outside of politics and government were not so timid, he would certainly be nominated. Such as they are, he undoubtedly will not be. The only thing that can save him will be a change of understanding on their part.

A SONNET

By BABETTE DEUTSCH

Mild gold that lies about the roots of trees;
The sky warmed by a clump of rusted haws;
The scentless autumn winds like slow grey bees
Storing their sweet in winter's leonine jaws;
All treasure else may tarnish, but not these.
Like tawny linens in the tombs of kings,
The fabric of our austere memories
Shall have made tawdy the less common things.
If but this weaving might as long endure!
That, as we draw more near the homeless bed
Where each must lie alone, we might be sure
Of being with such plain things comforted.
But time, like an insane Penelope,
Unravels as she weaves her tapestry.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MICHAEL FIELD

By ARTHUR SYMONS

ROBERT BROWNING, in his later period, suggests to the intellect, and to that only. Hence his difficulty, which is not a poetic difficulty; not a cunning simplification of method like Shakespeare's who gives us no long speeches of undiluted, undramatic poetry but poetry everywhere like life blood. Not only is he one of the greatest of our poets; he is also one of the most passionate, one of the most dramatic in imagination, and one of the most obscure; therefore, I rank him with John Donne, who stands out of our tradition, who are without ancestors. Nor have I forgotten my first and only meeting with Browning on the 23rd of August, 1889, the year in which he died; I still recall his violence of voice, it had the whole gamut of music in it, it thrilled one, it vibrated one, by certain touches of rare magic in it.

Baudelaire wrote: "It would be a wholly new event in the history of the arts if a critic were to turn himself into a poet, a reversal of every psychic law, a monstrosity; on the other hand, all great poets become naturally, inevitably, critics. It would be prodigious for a critic to become a poet, and it is impossible for a poet not to contain a critic." This is one of his sweeping statements; he, himself, was equally infallible as critic and as poet; but that is the case with very few French poets and very few English ones; Browning is no exception to this rule; he was easily carried away by his impulses and by his emotions. So it happened that in the spring of 1885, Browning, at a dinner given by Stopford Brooke, said suddenly: "I have found a new poet," to which several voices responded: "Michael Field."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1885 I reviewed their *Father's Tragedy* in "Time," which I said that *Callirrhoé* proved them to be genuine poets; that this volume was full of the air and the feeling of the forest; that it gave one a sense of the vengeance of the outraged Earth. I made their acquaintance in 1889; I saw them at intervals for several years, at Reigate, at Richmond and in Paris. On the 12th of June, 1890, I took them with me to the Forest of Fontainebleau; we had an expensive lunch at the Restaurant de Franchard. In 1892, I pointed out to them the apparition, the vision, of Paul Verlaine, in Paris, as he came out of a shop on the other side of the road with a huge roll of French bread under his arm. I have never forgotten that vision of Verlaine nor the shop we often frequented, which is still to be seen at one corner of the rue Racine which gives on the Boulevard Saint Michel. In 1886 Katherine wrote to Havelock Ellis saying: *"The Father's Tragedy,* save Emmeline's song and here and there a stray line, is indeed Edith's work; for the others, the work is perfect mosaic; we cross and interlace like a company of dancing summer flies, if one begins a character his companion seizes it and possesses it; if one conceives a scene or situation, the other corrects, completes."

In the American edition of *Underneath the Bough* I find this note, dated September 8th, 1898. "For some years my work has been done for the younger generations—not yet knocking at the door, but awaited with welcome. Meanwhile, readers from further England—if they will pardon my so classing them—have given me that joy of listening denied to me in my own island; and to them I offer this book of lyrics, adding such new songs as I count my sweetest to those of 'the Old World Series,' some of which, I have reason to hope, have won places in their hearts." Many of those lyrics were written by Katherine to Edith; some of them have outbursts of an almost uncontrollable passion, but for the most part they are tinged with rhetoric and with a violence which is somewhat unreal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Certain of their lyrics have been compared with those of Francis Thompson; there can be no comparison between them, yet in the case of the latter, that a writer who at his best is so fiery and exuberant should ever take Patmore for a model, should really try to catch his tricks of expression, is very curious—for poets who have an individuality to express ought not to be drawn away by any natural affinity with such poets, for instance, as Crashaw and Patmore. Crashaw and Patmore—we come back to the old antagonism—can any poet serve two such masters? Imagine Patmore rewriting, according to his own standard of composition, *The Flaming Heart* or Crashaw treating in his own way the theme of *Delicae Sapientiae de Amore!* I do not understand why the writer of the life of Michael Field should have said: "It is doubtful whether Laura or Beatrice or the Dark Lady had a tenderer wooing." Verses such as these have the qualities which must soon perish. One sonnet of Shakespeare is as imperishable as one of his Tragedies; Death rendered Beatrice's apothesis conceivable; and Dante may be said to have re-discovered the Platonic mystery, whereby love is an initiation into the secrets of the spiritual world. It was the initiations of sublime nature into the essence of pure impersonal enthusiasm; there was even too little alloy of earth in Dante's passion for Beatrice. Petrarch's love for Laura was of a different type; the unrest of earthly desire, forever thwarted, but recurring with imperious persistence, and the rebellion against the emotions the lover realized to be lawless, broke his peace. "There is," says John Addington Symonds, "an old Greek proverb that 'to desire the impossible is a malady of the soul.' With this malady in its most incurable form the poet was stricken." In the most sombre and tragic sonnets and songs of Christina Rossetti there is one subject into which she can infuse not so much her tenderness as the anguish of a heart given sorrowfully over to the memory of a passion spent somehow in vain, disregarded or self-repressed. She has found singularly moving words for the supressed bitterness of a disap-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pointed heart, the agony of unuttered passion reaching to a point of ascetic abnegation, a devout frenzy of patience which is the springing of the bitter seed of hope dead in a fiery martyrdom. I cannot find one single lyric which is in any sense perfect in Michael Field's volumes of verses; only, here and there, in a few of the last lyrics written by Edith Cooper, there are startling effects, at once imaginative and pathetic.

Writing in Landor I quoted this sentence of Coleridge, which might almost be applied to the dramas of Michael Field. "What is it that Landor wants to make him a poet? His powers are certainly very considerable, but he seems to be totally deficient in that modifying faculty which compresses several units into one whole. The truth is, he does not possess an imagination in its highest form — that of stamping it *piu nell'uno*." There is in their verse too careful a search after metaphor and elaborate speech, their method in dialogue is a logical method; the speeches are linked by a too definite and a too visible chain; they do not spring up out of those profound subconscious affinities, which in the work of the great dramatists, mimic Nature with all her own apparent irregularity.

Still, at their finest, there is in them something fierce, subtle, strange, singular—which can become sinister; there is nothing in them which is primitive or elemental, nothing which conveys a sense of that extreme and vehement and violent passion without which no actual tragedy can exist. They have some sense of style, some individuality of their own; they have no vision of great events, no enthralling emotion; but, in the younger one, a rare kind of spirituality which can become exquisite, morbid, intense. Do not look for construction, nor for that "infinite variety" which only great drama must possess; they have but little sense of complexities and of the enormous complexity of our hearts and our passions. There is nothing of that abnormality—they attempted it in the *Borgia*—that ought violently to stir the senses and awaken our sensations out of their torpor; nothing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that startles or suddenly arrests us. They rarely — there are certainly many exceptions—give one a thrill, the thrill of one whose imagination can make beat the hearts of multitudes; who can arouse in our nerves some lurking suspicion of what is hidden in the obscure corners of exasperated minds, who, as they shatter and piece together, after they have shattered it, the little mocking mirror of our existences, fling before our vision those petulent puppets who as they yearn for joys untasted and for desires unsatiated discount their days and accept so inexorably the precious pieces.

The curious thing is that two women of such different temperaments could have done such an immense amount of work; that they were always themselves—self-contained; and that only one of them, the younger, could weave spider's webs in some Ariadne's loom, colored and gracile, fragrant and scented. It was in their second dramatic period—when they were almost ignored—that they came to a certain extent into contact with the so-called Decadent Movement; the period of Wilde, Dowson, Beardsley, Yeats, Conder; the period of *The Yellow Book* and of *The Savoy*. This was the period when Walter Pater outshone all his contemporaries; in November, 1890, he gave a lecture at the London Institution on Prosper Mérimée. I was there and among others were the Michael Fields; it was Edith (who had never met Pater) who gave this wonderfully perfect revelation of the man and the writer. "There is great determination, a little brutality (in the French sense) about the lower part of the face; yet it is under complete control. His voice is low, and has a singularly sensitive resonance in it—an audible capacity for suffering, as it were His courteous exterior hides a strong nature; there is something, one feels, of Denyse l'Auxenois in him — a Bacchert, a Zayreas." To give a lecture in public was for Pater a severe humiliation; and the agony of the act of reading it communicated itself to the main part of the audience. On that occasion some of his friends gathered round the plat-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

form to congratulate him; he expressed a hope that the audience was able to hear what he said. "We overheard you," said Oscar Wilde. "Ah, you have a phrase for everything," replied the lecturer, the only contemporary, Wilde declared with pathetic inaccuracy, who ever influenced him. In regard to this I remember a story of some one who was present at a dinner given by W. E. H. Lecky at the Author's Society, in which he said that he was sorry there were no great writers alive, and no stylists to compare with those who had passed away. "A few paces off from me," he said, "sat Walter Pater, George Meredith and Austin Dobson."

I fail to understand such praise as this "for the genius of Michael Field, uniting as it does the two principal elements of art, Dionysian and Apollian, is therefore, of its nature an illustration of Nietzsche's theory." It is the very acme of absurdity to have said of their sacrelegious attempt or attack on the unsurpassable genius of Sappho in a book named *Long Ago* that came out in 1889, that " the leader of the sally was herself a flame of Dionysian fire," and that there would appear to be "a real resemblance between Michael's intensity, her exuberance and quick lyrical impulse, and the legendary Sappho." Why use the word "legendary"? Swineburne says, referring to the attack on his Anactoria, one of his unsurpassable creations, that he has striven to cast his spirit into the mould of hers; that in rendering Sappho's very words into English, "I have tried to bear witness, how, more than any other's, her verses strike and sting the memory in lonely places, or at sea, among all loftier lights and sounds—how they seem akin to fire and air, being themselves 'all air and fire'; other element there is none in them."

What they actually did was to take a few lines from the Greek of Sappho; then to attempt to translate those lines; then to add variations on these themes of their own inventing. One of the most passionate and tragic fragments of Sappho I give in my own rendering:—

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The waning moon out of the sky has vanished,
The seven Pleiades out of the heaven have gone.
It is midnight, the hours drag at my heart, banished
Is slumber from mine eyelids. I sleep alone."

Out of these four lines they made five stanzas of eight lines. This is the last stanza:—

"The moon is gone, yet he delays
The stars are set, but Sappho stays
And can it be that death,
Jealous, be sped
To suck from me my Phaon's balmy breath?
I stifle on my heart the funeral moan:
I do not weel the dead;
I lie alone."

Compared with the Greek these, as well as the other lines are puffed out and enfeebled by alterations, they are colorless and bloodless.

Only two women who ever wrote verse had in them "a flame of Dionysiac fire"; Sappho and Sante Theresa; in both "a flaming heart" burned outward to escape the intolerable pain of its reclusion. Nietzsche himself imagined he had "almost the soul of a Macena"; so that, with his hallucinatory vision, he divines Apollo as the God of Dreams, Dionysus as the God of Intoxication; the chorus is the lyric cry, the vital ecstasy; the drama is the projection into vision of the exterior, temporary world of forms. That myth of Dionysus Zayreaus, "a Bacchus who had been in hell," is the foundation of the marvelous new myth of Walter Pater, and this pagan afterthought is a translation, in which one hardly knows whether most to admire its learning, its ingenuity, or its passionate imagination.

Again, it is out of the question to compare for one moment Emily Bronté with Michael Field, as in this sentence: "However fully one may recognize the truth that there is no sex in genius, I suppose we shall always be startled at the appearance of an Emily Bronté or a Michael Field." To begin with, the world was not in the least startled by the ap-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pearance of either of these; yet, in spite of this, Emily Brontë remains always a woman of unique genius: she is the only woman in whom there has been seen the paradox of passion without sensuousness; in whom passion was alive as flame is alive in the earth; there was in her a passionate great dark unconscious instinct as of primitive nature-worship. "But," says Swinburne, "the pure note of absolutely right expression for things inexpressible in full by prose at its highest point of adequacy—the formal inspiration of sound which at once reveals itself, and which can fully reveal itself by metrical embodiment alone, in the symphonies and antiphonies of regular word-music and definite instinctive modulation of corresponsive tones—this is what Emily had for her birthright." No one who has read *Wuthering Heights*—which is one of the most magnificent novels ever written, which as a novel can only be compared with some of Webster's Tragedies—can fail to recognize that what he is reading is a tragedy, simply because it is the work of a writer whose genius is essentially tragic. Those who believe that the pure-bred Gypsy Heathcliff was called into existence by the accident that his creeper had witnessed the agonies of her unspeakable brother, might believe that Aeschylus wrote the *Eumenides,* because he had witnessed the uncomfortable results of matricide. "The love which devours life itself," again to quote Swinburne, "which devastated and desolates the future with unquenchable and raging fire, has nothing less than flame or sunlight."

Now, what shall be said in favor of the Michael Fields? Strangely gifted, had they the creative power of the born Dramatist? Had they any individual genius, any startling originality? Are their characters in any sense vitally alive? It seems to me certain that the younger one who wrote *The Father's Tragedy* (1885) assuredly had touches or flashes of genius. It is baneful and full of omens, it is literally the father's annihilation, from the fact that he has let his wild son, David Rothsay, die of starvation in prison. Because he was wanton, he was condemned to die in soul; because

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his dishonorable marriage, to die in heart; for his undeserved punishment, to die in body; a triple death, three-fold starvation. These prison scenes are terrible; they fill one with a sense of awe and of pity, for so fair a flower of youth to be so rudely plucked from its roots and so left to perish on the mere straw of one naked cell. She naturally gives one none of the unsurpassable agony and mental and physical degradation of Marlowe's *King Edward the Second;* as when he cries:

"Let this gift change thy mind, and save thy soul.
Know that I am a King: Oh, at that name
I feel a hell of grief. Where is my crown?
Gone, gone; and do I still remain alive?
But that grief keeps me waking, I should sleep;
For not these ten days have these eyelids closed."

Yet, in his agony, Rothsay can utter such lines as these:—

"Death was a shadow—I myself am Death.
I fed and never knew it; now I starve.
Here is the skeleton I've seen in books!
I am naked now, and Death is not dead;
O, God! he lives in me—in me must die;
And I must watch him with these burning eyes
Like candles set aflare upon my corpse."

HAPPY ENDING

By MARGARET WIDDEMER

This is that winter snow
We dreaded so:
And yet the days that shorten,
The winds that blow,
Seem like a rest from color and from light:
After a hurrying day, a placid night.

Perhaps that Death we wish came not so soon
May be that dreamed-of gift,
That longed-for boon
Each man holds in his heart, too vague for words—
Something beyond tomorrow:
An end to sorrow:
An evening nest for lost, wing-wearied birds!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE STATESMAN OF ASIA'S REVOLT

By UPTON CLOSE

THE western boundary of Asia is no longer in the Ural Mountains. It lies just east of Poland. Russia has severed from Europe and aligned herself with the Asiatic peoples. That is the greatest fact of post-war history. Fifty years from now, historians of the world, concerned not so much with petty rivalries between Western European states as with the trends of the races and civilizations, will set it down as the most important effect of the First World War.

Asia is today in bloodless revolution against Christendom —culture against culture. This is a revolution of self-assertion against the white man's assumption of the unarguable superiority of his system—unchallenged for half a century. Asia understands the occidental's religion to be, not the Sermon on the Mount, (that is Oriental) but the sincere and militant belief that scientific and material excellence, reaching their acme in majority sway and national power constitute the ideal for human-kind and must be recognized and reverenced as such by all nations and put by them into practice as rapidly as possible. Asia's demand just now is for recognition of cultural equality, although of a different type, but is rapidly developing into an insistence upon political non-molestation. It has many manifestations: the Turkish renaissance, the Indian non-cooperation, the Chinese student anti-Christian movement and governmental flouting of foreign obligations, the Japanese "race equality" declaration.

Russia, reverting at this critical time from the Europeanization of the Romanoff regime to her true Asiatic instincts and affiliations, has assumed command of the Asian

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revolution. She is today the backbone of Asiatic resistance, cultural and political. She is the iconoclast who has smashed Europe and America's idols, flouted their traditions, torn up their ultimatums, made comedy of their diplomatic conferences, defied their combined armies and yet survived. She has been saying to Turkey, to Persia, to India and China:

"See! Their vaunted power is bluff and their pretended superiority never existed. You have been conquered by your own credulity. Cast off your submissiveness! I am your friend. I am ready to make alliance with you. But if you are uncertain about it, take your time. I will not hurry you. (Russia knows the Oriental temperament.) But I am of you and with you."

The man through whom Russia has been saying these things to Far Asia, is Abraham Adolph Joffee—better transliterated "Yoffee." "The Fifth Commissar," as his admiring staff call him, is Moscow's greatest ambassador. He is probably the greatest diplomatic genius of the Bolshevik hierarchy. After sending him to Genoa and The Hague, Lenin decided to quit wasting him on Europe and assign him to the more fertile field of East Asia.

He arrived in Peking last August, having counseled with the government of the Far Eastern Republic and investigated the Bolshevik control of Mongolia en route. In September he held a conference with the Japanese in a Manchurian town, which for reasons of high diplomacy, was outwardly ruptured. Now he is in Tokyo, where the last Asiatic government to hold out against Russia advances—the one most influenced by European attitudes—has accorded him the privileges of an envoy plenipotentiary of a friendly power. While the attempt at intercourse between Moscow and Europe is proving abortive and while America still holds aloof, Asia is making up the feud.

I shall take the liberty to speak intimately of Abraham Adolph Yoffee and his assistants. Men who have a common bond of suffering may thus speak of one another. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bolshevik emmisary and I have such a bond. We had the same physician, the redoubtable old German, Dr. Kreig, of Peking, who left my bedside to go to the aid of the Commissar, stricken with pneumonia in a back-prairie town of northern Manchuria. Having been over the road, I made out an itenerary for the doctor which enabled him to get to his patient several hours sooner than he had thought possible. The Chinese hold that if you save a man's life you are responsible for his deeds thereafter. However, I am quite willing to disclaim all responsibility for Yoffee's history-making actions in Asia. I leave the burden entirely upon the shoulders of Dr. Kreig and John D. Rockefeller, who endowed the hospital in Peking which nursed the Soviet leader back to health after his spectacular rescue by the German specialist.

It was a month before Yoffee's illness and just previous to my own, that I happened upon the Soviet Embassy in Manchuria and accompanied it to Peking. China's last annual inter-Tuchunal war, during which I had been a member of the staff of the victor, Wu Pei-fu, had petered out in the usual desultory fashion and I was making a visit to the capital of the defeated satrap, Chang Tso-lin, whose armies had been driven out of the Peking region but who had remained, through Wu's fear of involving Japanese interests in Manchuria, secure in his kingship of that vast region. Mr. E. Carelton Baker, American advisor to "King" Chang was standing with me on the spacious platform of the Japanese station in Mukden. Rail service to the Chinese capital was still pretty much disorganized. A rather noticeable party of Russians were changing from the Japanese train, which had just arrived out of north Manchuria, to the Chinese train, destined for Peking.

"More refugees," we assured one another. "But rather an unusual looking lot. Let's see if they will talk."

As we approached their car, a dumpy-looking man mounted the steps assisted by two lithe fellows. I followed these three into a coupe.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Pardon," said one of the aides, "the Commissar is unwell. We are the Russian diplomatic party. Would you mind——."

No refugees, these, but the majesty of Great Russia, after a break of four years, come back to the Far East. Soviet authority, having made secure its European frontiers, come to claim its much pilfered heritage on the Pacific Ocean. The Russian Bear, sniffing little provender to the west, turned eastward again. None of the brilliant uniforms, gold braid, dangling swords and long beards of the Czar's diplomatic missions. Only a score or more of rather pinched looking persons, baggy at the knees, curious and unrepressed as children.

I apologized for my intrusion.

"Perhaps on his arrival in the Orient the Commissar would be willing to give me a statement for the press?" I said.

My proposal was received kindly and informally. "M. Yoffee has a severe pain in his side. It has troubled him throughout the journey across Siberia," said one of his attendants. "Perhaps he will feel better after a rest, and if so, will, I am sure, be glad to answer your questions. Meanwhile, will you not ride with the rest of the party in the salon-car?" To this the Commissar nodded his immense head and we left him reclining on the seat of the coupe.

And so I found myself embarked upon a day's railway journey with some of the pleasantest travelling companions with whom I have ever fallen in. Two years earlier I accompanied a party of American congressmen, their wives and daughters, over this same route. Everything was provided them by their generous host, the Chinese Foreign Office, and they drank everything. With the exception of a song service led by a Texas judge who stood on a table supported by a Pennsylvania garbage contractor and a middle-western dairy man, the party was very dull. I was frequently instructed on the immorality of trading with Bolsheviks . . . The Russians had to pay for their refreshments and drank only beer.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

My host introduced me all around. Several of the party spoke English and the remainder spoke French or German. I was surprised to see several women. Like the men, they were of the most variant Russian types. One, the wife of the wizened, little recording officer, was an ideal blonde, obviously of Baltic stock. Tall, Juno-faced, unemotional, there was nevertheless, something about her that savored of the soil. Her two comely children played about the car but their sometimes excessive activity scarcely rippled her calm. There was a stolid, gypsy-looking young woman who, I was told, was Yoffee's recent bride, and the fat peasant woman who looked after their baby boy. She was the only menial in the party. The other women attended their own children. The wife of my sponsor, a keen-minded, sparkling little brunette who spoke English charmingly, began at once to sound me in a most informal manner on the dependability of Chinese nurse-maids.

There was a distinct honeymoon atmosphere about the party—with the exception of the goateed Bolshevik chief who sat alone or accompanied by his silent wife in the coupe at the end of the car. Even the Chinese expert, a gaunt, shaggy man with horrible teeth, wedded to nothing but his self-esteem, was indulging somewhat stiffly and condescendingly, in facetious talk with the young women. This man, thirteen years ago a professor in the Chinese Imperial University of Peking, had deciphered one of the lost Asian languages which are inscribed upon the gateway of the Great Wall north of Peking. He was no communist but served willingly in the Soviet Embassy. Nor were my sponsor and his wife, as I found when I took her to supper while he tended their baby.

"We do not belong to the communist party," she said, "although my husband was publicity secretary of the delegation at Genoa and we are again with Mr. Yoffee here." And yet I got from her the most enlightening confession of Communist faith which I have yet heard. She gave me, also, several other extremely interesting sidelights.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"What did you think of Chita and the administration of the Far Eastern Republic?" I asked.

"I think it a contemptible little government in a contemptible little town," was her astonishing answer.

"And Moscow?"

"Oh, Moscow is grand, even in its distress."

"But what of life there?"

"Life is hard. You have no idea, you Americans. Even these Chinese—how they eat! And look at their silks." she glanced about the dining car, where Chinese gentlemen were "inhaling" large plates of food, with the sipping sound approved by Chinese etiquette.

"Are you not more fortunate—you in the government employ?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, we are looked after first, but you would not exchange places with us." She became very didactic. "You see our political house became a prison, so we burned it to get free and now we have to live out in the cold while we build a more ideal dwelling place. Probably it was the only way—our leaders say that conditions in Russia were such that the destruction had to come first. And you know the hostility of the outside world greatly increased our difficulty. But you in America—if you can—build your new house before you must leave the old. When the change comes you will experience suffering, of course. It will come—do not doubt—with you as with us (I wondered if she were repeating some address of Lenin) but if you are wise you will be building the new structure now."

"Can the Revolution be bloodless?" I asked satirically. I was getting ready to quote Marx.

"My husband and I are not members of the Communist party." she replied cryptically. There was suffering in her eyes, born of long questioning as to whether her people might not have been spared much of their misery. But there was no question in her mind as to the necessity of upholding the present government.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I endeavored to turn her thoughts toward a more pleasant future. I spoke of the social life of Peking—of the air of entire absence of anxious responsibility which characterizes the foreign community of that city—of the frivolity of the Grand Hotel and the Roof Garden.

She smiled patronizingly. "I do not suppose there will be much dancing for us in Peking. The European and American communities wil not likely receive us. And you forget that we are workers——."

"Workers!" I exclaimed. "Legation women do not work."

"If we were not workers we would not be along. No one goes with Yoffee who does not work. I am a stenographer. One of the women you met is chief accountant. The tall blonde woman alone is excused because she has two children to care for."

"But surely you will have some time for pleasure." I replied. "What was your social life in Moscow?"

'Social life—I do not understand——"

"What did you do between six and twelve in the evening? After the evening meal?"

"Why," she said, her eyes widening, "Work." My husband and I had our evening rations in the office. Then I did four more hours of typing. Then I went and got my baby from the matron at the home for workers' children and we went to bed."

"I thought a fundamental doctrine of Communism was the cutting down of the hours of work!"

She smiled. A sort of fanatical zeal took possession of her. "We of the first generation will get nothing but labor and suffering and the intelligent five per cent must bear most of the burden for the rest. I am willing to work twelve hours a day"—her eyes became wistful—"that my son may have to work only two. And hard work has not hurt me," she added.

I whistled softly. "If there are many like you," I thought, "no wonder the Soviet stands. And woe to it if you are disappointed." Aloud I commented, "I think it would be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

better for both if you each worked six. One generation has as much right to joy and leisure as another. It is no more just to sacrifice the parents for the sons than the sons for the parents." But of course this was a little off argument.

Just then her husband came. "The baby is asleep." he announced, and addressing me, "I will take you to see Monseiur Yoffee whenever you like."

"Tell me something about your chief first." I asked. "Why does he have all those cuts on his head? They reminded Mr. Baker and myself, at the Mukden station, of a stubblefield scarred by the share of a runaway ploughing team."

"Oh," laughed the lady. "You see we had no barber on the Trans-Siberian train, so M. Yoffee, who always keeps his head shaved, did the job himself. And as our train came from Moscow to Chita in nine days, it was pretty rough for shaving."

We commented upon the remarkable time made by the train—thirteen running days from Moscow to Peking—the fastest since the war. Pretty good evidence of the "comeback" of Russian communications. But of course all trains do not go through so promptly as the "Number Five Commissar's."

"Why do you call him that?" I asked.

"He is generally regarded as next to Chicherin. There are Lenine, Trotsky, Litvinoff and Chicherin. But apart from Lenine, I think we have the most confidence in Yoffee." I gathered that the staff of the Soviet plenipotentiary have implicit faith in his insight and judgment.

I have found that Russians in America, particularly the Jews, regard him as one of the Soviet's best. I mentioned him to a dark-haired barber from Minsk. "Oh—Yoffee, ver' great man." he said.

"He must be a rather old man," I ventured. "His health cannot be good. He is too corpulent."

"Old!" The lady laughed again. "Why he is one of the youngest members of our party, not excepting myself."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Then he is still in his youth, but he has lost his bloom!"

"He is not as old as my husband, who is forty-two, and the oldest member of the party excepting the Professor. He is still in his thirties. But as a boy he studied very hard. Later he studied under Freud in Vienna. His parents were wealthy and honored, for Jews, but he became a revolutionist. He was sentenced to hard labor in Siberia and the physical over-exertion injured his heart. Now he cannot take exercise for fear of his heart, and as a result he gets too fat."

This man has just come, as Minister Plenipotentiary of his government, over the line which he had previously travelled in chains. The Czar had broken his body but not his spirit. He was one of the captives released by the Revolution. No wonder he hates the old regime. And now, still at an age at which most young men are finding themselves, this scion of a rich Jewish family is the most important figure in Pacific Asia.

We left the diner and went to Yoffee's coupe. He was sitting opposite his wife, elbows on the narrow table, his massive head in his hands. He was apparently in physical suffering at that time, but against my protestations he rose to greet me. He had neither the hauteur of some diplomats, nor the ingratiating quality of others. There seemed to be nothing intricate about him whatsoever. No affectation, no lure, no mysticism, no emotions to play upon, no sensibilities to avoid and no vanities to flatter. I judged that his personal variant would be next to nothing. You would entirely forget the man in what he was saying or doing but that would keep you busy enough.

Physically, he is phenomenally ugly. He is the unhandsomest man I have ever seen, white, yellow or black. He is a composite of all the exaggerated features of his race. The entire face comes to a point in the protruding Semetic nose. His eyes rove in opposite directions. You cannot tell if he is looking at you. When he sat in the Changchun conference with the Japanese, those eyes unnerved Nippon's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stolid delegates. Orientals are accustomed to read the mind through the eyes. They couldn't read Yoffee's or determine when Yoffee was reading theirs.

Such eyes must be of wonderful assistance to a diplomat, as I learned in boyhood that they were to a schoolmaster. Put over them the thick eye-glasses, add a heavy Russian goatee, clean shaven, flabby red cheeks, flaring ears, and surmounting all, the enormous, broad, shaven head and you have Yoffee's picture.

Yet I did not resent his ugliness. It is of a type to set one at his ease. And Yoffee is unassuming, gracious and business like.

"My English is not fluent," he said in French. "I had not expected to meet with correspondents so soon. How can I serve you?"

"Have you a message which I may send to the Chinese and Japanese peoples?" I asked. "Is Russia going to resume her former active participation in Far Eastern affairs?"

"You may state," he replied briefly, "that the Russian people have sent me to say to the Chinese and Japanese peoples that we are their friends. I will tell them that the Russian people and they are one at heart. That the Russian people are sincere in renouncing the imperialist aggressions of the Czar, and honest in returning to China every concession wrung from her under the threat of force and by the wiles of capitalists, and in renouncing every financial claim established during the capitalistic regime.

"But do you think that you will be appreciated?" I asked. "Japan has just completed an arrangement with China which makes the Chinese-Eastern Railway, legally the property of Russia, a feeder and dependent of the Japanese railway system in Manchuria. Thus Vladivostock is isolated and Siberian products drain out through the Japanese port of Darien."

Yoffee had not heard of this, and seemed a trifle disturbed as I told him what I knew.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"That is serious," he said. "We must uphold the integrity of the Trans-Siberian line, right into Vladivostock. And there is the matter of the Siberian fisheries. We must get them back. But I am certain these questions with Japan will be settled peaceably. I think Japan as well as China begins to want our good will. England has abandoned her. And, although she is less nervous, since your Washington Conference, about America, she is never quite free from dread of the Western powers. We will give Japan her time. She will, in the end, make friends with us. There is an underlying bond between us nations of Asia. Differences are superficial."

I was given to understand that the last part of this talk was not included in Yoffee's message to the press. It contains the essence of the Soviet's policy in the Far East. In brief: To announce herself as a member of the Asian family of nations; to win China by renouncing the Boxer Indemnity and Russian preferential claims in the Chinese Eastern Railway and territorial sovereignty in that railway zone, while at the same time insisting upon unrestricted use of that sector of the Trans-Siberian Railway which lies within Manchuria, and upon the return, or at least partial return of the fisheries; to gain from Japan full diplomatic recognition by holding out the lure of Siberian raw materials and the Siberian market; to impress upon these and the rest of the nations of Asia that Russia, their fellow-Oriental, is fighting their battle against the agression of the capitalistic nations whose kings of industry have covetous eyes upon their vast undeveloped resources, promising them success in the revolt if they will but rally under her standard.

In connection with this policy, Russia retains firm hold upon Mongolia, which gives her claim to being a member as well as a neighbor of the Far Eastern fraternity, and at the same time removes a temptation to Japan which might disrupt the brotherhood.

One other contentious question, that of oil-bearing Saghalien, garrisoned by Japanese, the Soviet believes itself

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to have gotten neatly off its hands by the lease of the oil-lands to an American corporation. Exploitation of the lease by the American firm will, of course, imply Russian sovereignty, and, to the Russian way of thinking it is inconceivable that our government should fail to back up an American oil company.

No doubt Yoffee regards developments, during the six months in which his mission has been in the Orient, as highly successful and auspicious. In September he held a conference with the Japanese in Changchun, the Manchurian town where the Japanese and Sino-Russian railway systems meet. The conference was ostensibly "ruptured" and an effort was made to throw mystery about the break-up. It was generally believed by correspondent observers that the "rupture" was for the press and foreign offices of the powers and that there was a tentative secret understanding for the archives. Subsequent events have made this clear. From Japan's standpoint, it was much more desirable for the military evacuation of Siberia to appear as the sovereign act of the Japanese government, dictated by principle alone, than to appear as the fulfillment of conditions to which Japan had been compelled to accede in conference. From the Soviet standpoint it was desirable that the White Russians in Vladivostock should be entirely in the air as to Japan's policy toward them until she suddenly left them supportless against the Red occupation.

Never was a rupture more diplomatic, and this diplomacy was Yoffee's, although he was ailing before the conference began and was carried from the scene on a stretcher. His Freudian methods of mind-reading and his disconcerting methods of questioning made the Japanese delegates who were not quite sure what Yoffee was doing to them, glad to commit themselves, openly, to nothing more than a disagreement.

How much Russia owes to American pressure upon Japan to get out of Siberia, Yoffee probably does not know

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and cares less. Certain it is, he does not pique the Japanese by any allusions thereto.

It now remains for him to establish by conventional treaty, under immensely more favorable conditions, the relations which were tacitly agreed upon at Changchun. For this purpose he has gone to Japan. The "Number Five Bolshevik" is now in Tokyo, enjoying the privileges of an envoy extraordinary of a friendly power. Modern ronin, always looking for an opportunity to do violence under the pretense of saving the nation, have attacked the home of his patrician Japanese host, and caused a spell of his uncertain heart by frightening him upon the street. Popular sympathy throughout Japan is only increased by these final flares of anti-resumption bigotry.

The Japanese government will play with Russia, for it is not at all averse to the weakening of Euro-American influence in Asia. But Japan's rulers are not Asiatic at heart. China and Korea and India (at present Russia must ignore Korea for the sake of Japan) and possibly the Japanese proletariat are turning to Russia from more honest motives. For Russia is fundamentally Asian. She has retained the distinguishing mark of an Asiatic body-politic, the patriarcho-democratic village government, identical with that existing in China, which carries on while despots come and despots go, while apostles of republicanism theorize, or communists experiment.

Such a body politic is indifferent toward affairs of state but rallies to the defense of the dignity of the race. It is passive as long as the practical independence of the village unit is not threatened. It submits to very little direct taxation. It is bound together by community of culture and customs and that powerful thing which we, in America, can but dimly comprehend, race-consciousness.

The secret of Bolshevik success is that it has not disturbed the village, but rather glorified it. The theory of Sovietism, which may or may not be Communistic, does not conflict with Asiatic political instincts, and the people do not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resent the preaching of Marxian Communism in the capital if they can live Confucianism in the provinces. So far as the rural population of Russia are concerned, Moscow may vary from Communist to Capitalist if she but retain the soviet principle of village rights.

The attempt to establish democracy upon the dual basis of manhood suffrage and geographical representation failed in Russia in a few months under the Kerensky regime. It has been tried in China for ten years and has failed there. The safe-guarded little experiment which is being tried in India must fail. It is incompatible with Oriental tradition and instinct—alien to Asian psychology. Not that the Orientals must have despots, but they must have, on the land, some sort of community-ism; in industry, some sort of guildism. Out of this can grow a sufficient modicum of state and national control to make the despot superfluous. To say today that the Oriental, building up his syndicalism, needs autocratic control, is as short-sighted an argument as was that of the Royalists in the western world, who, watching the evolution struggles of representative democracy, wisely wagged their heads and said that the only way to assure stable government was to have a king.

Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese apostle of revolution, has abandoned his attempt to apply territorial and numerical representation after the American model to China and is learning,, under the tutorship of Yoffee, methods more in keeping with Chinese instinct and tradition. These are soviet methods, not necessarily implying communism. The Bolshevists themselves are having to abandon communism, but not sovietism. Yoffee's influence in China is evident in other ways. He is tremendously in vogue with the students and intelligenzia to whom he appears as the hero of iconoclasm—witness his reception and lectures at the Peking National University. Although not yet regularly received by the European-influenced Chinese Foreign Office, he has ventured during the past few months to give more advice on Chinese internal politics than the entire diplo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

matic corps, and the legations of the powers are amazed alike at its temerity and the unresentful manner in which it is received.

They are witnessing the recrudescence of the Russian influence of the late nineteenth century in Peking, when the Russian minister could get for the asking what other nations could not get by fighting. The reason is that the Chinese, particularly since the Manchu conquerors, Kang Hsi and Chien Lung, brought China and Russia together, have regarded Russia as an Asiatic power, fundamentally of the same culture and civilization, and although they have betimes fought with her, they have never feared her as they have feared the European powers which came preaching the doctrine of western rush and efficiency at the mouth of the cannon.

Only one who has traveled in the vast Russo-Chinese borderland can appreciate the oneness of their cultures. Coming from the Caspian Sea eastward there is a gradual gradation of change—no sudden difference, until your mujik has been transformed into a Chinese peasant and your Russian trader has become a Moslem-Chinese merchant. Back through the ages, in the time of the whisker-hating Katherine the Great and before, embassies traveled overland between the capitals of Russia and China, and Russian troops, captured at the fortress of Albazin, now Blagevestchensk on the Amur, by Kank Hsi (the contemporary of Louis XIV. of France) mere domesticated in Peking. Today it is impossible to distinguish their descendents from the inhabitants of the other quarters of the Imperial City. It was the Russian Minister, in 1860, who was allowed to take up his residence in Peking while the envoys of England and France had to fight their way into the Son of Heaven's capital. It was the Russian Minister who assumed the role of mediator after the barbarian forces had entered the city. To the conquerors, the Chinese gave the privilege of trading at an additional port or two—to the middle-man they gave a seven hundred mile strip of coast line! It was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to Russia that Li Hung-chang, the veteran statesman of the last Manchu reigns, looked to protect China against division between western European powers.

So there is nothing new in spirit or contrary to tradition in this latest re-approachment in Pacific Asia. And Yoffee assures China and Japan that Russia can go much further than in the past because she has cast off all nationalistic imperialism, and, while joining hands against Europe (and America) will no longer endeavor to aggrandize herself. In evidence whereof, the name of Russia has been dropped from the new official title of the Moscow regime, which now accredits its envoy to the Far Eastern nations as the representative of the "Affiliated Soviet Republics of the World." No wonder special dispensations are being granted to Chinese and Japanese merchants in Siberia and that Lenin's first question, upon descending from his sick-bed, is: "What progress is Yoffee making in the East?"

Asia, having almost accepted the white man's creed, has with the example of the war before her, reconsidered and turned against it. The revolution is now bloodless. Revolutions which begin bloodlessly do no always continue so. Should this revolution, in spite of the efforts of men of vision and good will of both cultures not remain so, Euro-America will have occasion to regret the circumstances and rue the diplomacy which drove Russia back among her Asiatic brethren.

ESCAPE

By JOHN R. C. PEYTON

Tonight I shall escape from sorrow.
I shall dream of a far valley
Under a slim moon,
And a river-mist,
And a silence
Sweeter than the notes of a shadowy organ
Groping through an old cathedral.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MENTAL TRAINING: A REMEDY FOR EDUCATION

By WILLIAM GEORGE JORDAN

WHEN an educator of the unquestioned ability and high standing of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, sums up education in a sentence, his words are worthy of careful listening. He said on one occasion: "When one reflects upon the ravages which have been committeed in the name of education, there is some excuse for wondering whether it would not be advantageous to agitate for compulsory illiteracy." Such an expression from the lips of a mere layman might be construed as wild and fanatic, but spoken by Dr. Butler they represent the sane, serious crystallization of the thought, observation and long experience of a clear thinker who is in a position to know. They show relentlessly that there is something intrinsically rotten in the Denmark of education.

Gladstone once said: "The most distinguished professional men bear witness, with an overwhelming authority, in favor of a course of education in which to train the mind shall be the first object, and to stock it the second." James Beattie put the same idea in other words, when he said: "The aim of education should be to teach us rather how to think than what to think—rather to improve our minds so as to enable us to think for ourselves than to load the memory with the thoughts of other men." Thousands of our thinkers have echoed the same thought. We have gone still further in attempting to show that because of the false theory of making knowledge of supreme and first importance and training the mind a by-product, an expected secondary result, education fails in both phases.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have ventured to suggest a new model, a new ideal, a new inspiration, which we shall call "Mental Training," to differentiate it from the old education. This new model has three cardinal points. It would make training the mind itself, the first and supreme aim, giving as much knowledge as could be given in exercises and in conjunction with the training. It would prepare the individual for the seven lives we all must live: a physical life, a mental life, a moral and ethical life, a civic life, a social life, an aesthetic and emotional life, and a spiritual life. It would train in accord with the sprit, methods and mental processes of genius, the revelation to man of the mind working at its best. In the suggestion of genius as the model for education, there is no attempt to create genius but merely to start the individual in the right way, to appeal to and stimulate his mind in accord with the mental laws the genius unconsciously obeys, and to develop the powers, faculties and qualities common to all men, and which genius alone shows in perfect flower.

To present Mental Training in a coherent, consecutive, convincing way and to outline it as a complete and practical system, with the wealth of explanation and detail, illumination, illustration, exercises and suggestion of methods would require a series of books. Upon such a comprehensive work the writer has been engaged for over twenty years with the unsatisfactory limitation of brief snatches of time taken from other demands and duties. Within the limits of a magazine article one can touch merely on a few essentials, high-lights of difference between the ideals and methods of the old and the new. It will be little more than a thumbnail sketch of a great panorama, but enough may be given to appeal to the reader's imagination and to direct his thinking.

The difference between Education and Mental Training are differences in attitude, spirit, aim, scope and methods. We ask of education, "what knowledge does it give?"; of mental training "what power, faculties and qualities does

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it develop?"; of education "what does it teach?"; of mental training, "in what does it train?" The curricula of the two show how far apart they stand in their purposes and ideals. When asked what are the subjects in her course of study, Education gives: Reading, writing, arithmetic, history, language, geography and the others of its thirty or more subjects. The same question asked of Mental Training would bring forth a different answer: Trained senses, memories, observation, judgment, reasoning, clear-thinking, self-expression, language and conversation; training in accuracy, thoroughness, initiative, resourcefulness, responsibility, concentration, rapidity of thought and action; exercises in physical training, training in character and ethics, in social civilities, courtesies and graces, in civic duties and responsibilities, in appreciation of the beautiful, in sentiment and emotions, in spiritual consciousness. The list is incomplete but it suggests the scope and the larger vision of the proposed model.

This curriculum would apply to the elementary school and the high school. There would be simply a continuous progressive, cumulative perfecting of the training in widening circles of application, and finer forms of expression and activity. The final aim of mental training is to teach thinking, exercising the individual not in *what* to think, but in *how* to think, making all parts of his mental machine work individually at their greatest ease, smoothness and rapidity and in finest co-operation. It is not doing this *for* the individual but *with* him, training him in the how and why of every process, so that his mind and all its manifestations will be under his control. As the exercises become progressively harder the individual will be ready and eager for the next step and the amount of real knowledge, absolute and relative that he can grasp, absorb, assimilate and use will be marvellously increased.

Examinations and markings, as we know them to-day, would be banished from mental training. They are blighting in their influence, unfair as tests, false as motives for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

study, and unethical in their reaction on the mind of the student. As an evil they are logical first fruits of a false theory. Max Muller puts one phase of the evil strongly, when he says: "All real joy in study seems to me to have been destroyed by examinations as now conducted. Young men imagine that all their work has but one object—to enable them to pass examinations. Every book they have to read, even to the number of pages, is prescribed. No choice is allowed; no time is left to look either right or left. What is the result? The required number of pages is gotten up under compulsion, therefore grudgingly, and after the examination is over what has been gotten up is got rid of again like a heavy and useless burden. The only thing that remains is an intellectual *nausea* — a dislike of the food swallowed under compulsion."

Guyau, a wise and witty French educator, says: "An examination is a permission to forget." The child and the older student lives under a constant fear of punishment or failure that stimulates nervousness and lack of attention, warping and wracking the mind. Sometime in the future we shall realize that it is as barbarous an injustice to punish a child by a bad mark for a missed lesson as it would be to whip it for having the measles. The child is not punished for failure to study, but for failure to learn. This is not his fault. He may know ninety per cent of a lesson perfectly and be tripped up by a question on the unlearned ten per cent. He dimly realizes this as unjust and feels an unethical and unholy sense of having beaten the game when he later receives a maximum mark on a lesson wherein his answer represents the only thing he knows about it.

Examinations make "cramming" mandatory and this process has a most pernicious effect on mind and brain. They exercise only the rote memory, the weakest of all memories and one often found well developed in defectives and in those almost imbecile. They blur the process of memory by paying no attention to the association of memories by principle, classification and relation. They deaden the mind by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

putting a premium on acquiring words untranslated into ideas or clear concepts.

In mental training, with no examinations and marking, the child would attend school with joy and freedom, prepared to be led to love knowledge and power for their own sakes and for the use he could make of them. The absence of formal examinations would not imply that no estimate would be made of the child's progress, for he would be under the constant watchful eye of the teacher, studying his progress and development as he would manifest them in his daily activities.

In education we hear and read much about the questions the teacher should put to the child, little or nothing of the questions the child should be inspired to put to the teacher. There is no time for the latter questions in our present system. They represent the child's instinctive effort to orient himself, to get his bearings in a new world, to feed his mind and satisfy his mental hunger, to find out that which it wants to know. The first questions of a child are queries key-noted in "who" or "what." He is first starting wisely with "identity." He soon evolves into "why," "how," "which," "when," and "where," first the thing itself, then its qualities, its relations, its method, process or reason, its time, its location and its individuality. These queries are but the outward expression of inward analysis. A Darwin, a Huxley, a Spencer, or a Newton uses the same words in interviewing Nature.

Mental training, modelling its method on the mind of the child and that of genius, has reverence for these questions. It substitutes for textbooks and recitation, the free air of question, discussion, conversation and exchange of thought. The child's questions are vitally significant as a means of self-expression and as evidencing not only its hunger for knowledge but the slant of the child's thoughts, his aptitudes, tastes, reasoning, imagination, tendencies and understanding.

The first duty of mental training is to seek to put the child

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into harmony with his environment. This means not only answering his questions but stimulating, directing and intensifying them, and giving him knowledge, first and essentially of the immediate world around him, and in this process beginning the training of his mind and all its powers, faculties, and qualities. While the basic principles of mental training would be identical and unchanging the world over, and be as true and applicable in India or Peru as in America, the knowledge to be given would differ. The child in Bombay would have different surroundings, scenery, phases of nature, animal and plant life and manners and customs from those of a child living in Lima. Similar differences, though less in degree, would exist between child life and environment in the Tennessee Mountains and in El Paso, Texas. The basic knowledge would differ but in all instances the natural curiosity would be equally nursed and stimulated in mental training instead of being starved and deadened in education. Today we take a child hungering to understand what he sees and hears in his little world, and place him in the artificial bookish atmosphere of the schoolroom. There we shunt his interest off from the thousand things he wants to know and seek to divert this interest to what is dull, dry, disassociated from his natural life and activities.

It is as though a traveler were new-landed in some strange city of the Orient. With every sense, keen, alert and stimulated and his whole mind avid to know and to understand, he seeks instinctively to adjust himself to his new surroundings. Questions crowd so close and so fast to his lips that he can hardly give them expression. "What is that?" "Who is that man whom all seem to reverence?" "Why does he wear that bright robe?" "What is that strange looking building?" "Why do these men suddenly kneel?" "Why do they stand apart like statues?" "Where are the shops?" "How do these people live at home?" The questions are but the emanations from the white heat of his interest. Suppose that instead of answering them, one were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to say, "Come, let us not bother about these things now. I want to give you a course of lessons on cuneiform inscriptions or on quadratic equations," we should have a fair analogue to education's treatment of the child.

Text-books would have no part in mental-training, at least not in its early stages. For them would be substituted the living voice of the teacher. There would be greater appeal to the ear than is made in education. It requires greater mental quickness to grasp and retain what is spoken than what is printed for as this is permanent it can be referred to at will. There is a stronger appeal to the emotion and imagination in the spoken word than in the written or printed. Language, too, has its first message to the ear. In such training there is increased possibility in training in language at its best, for all speak and comparatively few write. The emphasis on the appeal to the ear does not mean that the training of the eye is neglected but it is merely given its true place.

In education, with its program of a fixed amount of knowledge to be given in a fixed period of time, every moment is scheduled; thirty minutes four times a week for this study, forty-five minutes twice a week for another and so on for other studies. The more we reduce education to a mechanism the easier it is to handle as an organization but such mechanizing and standardizing kills its very soul. It intensifies mechanical teaching and mechanical learning. We give a course of so many months in some subject and when the text-book is completed we examine on it, lock the study in some water-tight compartment of the mind where it is isolated from contact with other subjects and pay no further attention to it. It is taught once and that is all about it. It is assumed that because it has been taught the student knows it, retains it and uses it. It is really withdrawn from circulation like Confederate money. The separate studies do not speak to each other, they never mix, marry and procreate with an issue of new ideas.

Mental training cannot be so mechanized. Its aim is not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a certain amount of knowledge, fixed and pre-determined but to give each child or older student all the mental power he individually seems capable of developing, with whatever knowledge can be acquired in connection with the process and stimulating such a love of power and knowledge that the individual will be able to acquire for himself such further power and knowledge in the right way as he may later desire. The new model therefore would resent the pressure of an exacting time table. Of course, some kind of a general working program would be evolved but it would be a most elastic affair, following the needs, not determining them. If we were asked what would be the term of the course in any subject in the curriculum of mental training in the elementary schools the answer would be —"eight years." This means that though the direct training would lessen, the subject would always be in the foreground and be exercised in newer lines of thought and activity.

No single power of the mind could long be exercised alone. They are so intimately inter-related that the perfecting of any one implies the developing at the same time of associated powers. In the training of the senses, for instance, in exercising the child to take a clear visual image of a picture, memory classifies it, the reproductive imagination re-creates it vividly on demand, it enters into observation, questions regarding it call forth reason, and a true expression in description is an exercise in language and a drawing is one in art.

Education in her zeal to furnish knowledge, forces it so constantly and continuously and in such large doses into minds uninterested and untrained to assimilate, that the result is a mental dyspepsia that injures the mind instead of strengthening it, straining it instead of training it. Education's ideal of culture is extension, a little of everything. The ideal of mental training is intensity, a smaller field, more thoroughly cared for and nourished. Each exercise

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must be completely mastered before the next is undertaken. The semblance of power or knowledge is nothing, its actuality is everything. Education spreads over infinite detail; mental training concentrates on thorough knowledge of fundamentals in any subject, guiding threads, principles and laws and essentials, outlines so perfectly mastered that all later knowledge fits into a prepared scheme where it is tested, seen in proper relation and properly evaluated.

In mathematics, education carries the student through algebra and geometry and beyond. Mental training by lopping off all that follows percentage and discount would save valuable time that could be devoted to more useful things and would give such thorough drilling in the smaller field that the student could almost work out problems in his sleep. He would be trained to do calculating mentally that now requires pencil and paper, every short-cut would be shown him and he would do the work with ease, accuracy and rapidity. Every adult in our country who has been educated in our public schools has been taught to "bound the states." Each one has sing-songed the descriptive formulas over and over again, he has then drawn maps. What percentage of them could bound each of the forty-eight states today? Is not one per cent a *very* liberal estimate? In mental training, after a series of exercises in visualizing, the boy or girl would be trained to take a clear mental picture of the map of the United States in outline and color. He would be exercised repeatedly until it would be indelibly impressed on his trained memory. Similar methods would be used with maps of the continents. He would then have in his head, for all the years, an atlas of seven maps *tattooed* into memory, ready to be revived in his mind's eye instantly in a moment of need.

In mental training everything is done to secure the child's active, zealous co-operation. Because genius works best and develops its highest powers in what it loves, the child is led, not forced, to love and desire his school life. It does not mean that everything is made easy for him, his mental

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

food predigested for him, and bitter doses of knowledge all sugar-coated and capsuled. The opposite is the true statement, he is given tasks that call forth his mental powers at their strongest, he is made intensely conscious of the specific object of every exercise, its how and why of process and what benefit he should expect from it. The aim of mental training is to inspire rather than merely inform, to stir the hidden energies, to awaken love and desire, to quicken the imagination, to thrill the child with the glory of individual possibility, to give it seeing eyes for the wonders and beauties of life and listening ears for its great message, to fill his mind with the glowing sense of power, self-reliance and self-dominion, to exercise him in initiative and responibility, to awaken the creative impulse, to show him his true relationship to himself and to the world, to train him to think for himself and to think the best, know the best, feel the best, do the best and live the best.

In this spirit of wakening love and interest, the wonder side, the romance, the appealing, the picturesque in every subject is first presented. We to-day teach history in a dry-as-dust way, peppered with unimportant dates, that for most people have killed all interest in it as a study or a source of pleasurable reading in later life. What they *do* know has been acquired under the suspended sword of fear of bad marks or the false spur of preparing for examinations. What little the child later remembers is the picturesque episodes, either actually pictured in the books or made real by vivid, colorful description such as "the Boston tea-party, the landing of the Pilgrims, Queen Isabella pawning her jewels, Washington crossing the Delaware, Washington at Valley Forge, signing the Declaration of Independence, Franklin and his kite and a few more similar episodes. Most of what remains of what was taught is buried in the oblivion department of memory. Nearly two thousand years ago it was said: "A little child shall lead them." The little child *does* lead. He is constantly showing us how to help him, he leads us in countless ways in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

education, but we do not follow. We ignore his revealings of the natural way, and blindly and fatuously continue our false, unnatural, complicated process.

In the study of English literature we have hundreds of able, well-informed, zealous and appreciative teachers in our schools and colleges. But because of the insistence on sweeping the whole field from Chaucer to Chesterton,—the terror of examinations and markings, the burden of remembered names and dates, the drudgery of study and writing papers, the sense of literature as a task, and other contributing factors, the results are far from satisfactory. The teacher's first great duty and fine privilege is to develop a genuine love of reading, and of reading the best. If teachers accomplish this, all they leave undone in literature will be forgiven them. More interest in Shakespeare has been killed by making text-books of his plays than has ever been stimulated by their forced study.

One book, lovingly, leisurely, sympathetically and appreciatingly read aloud to a class, with frequent interruptions and comments—as we stop on a country road to note the beauty of a sunset, a water-fall, a cloud effect, a glory of Autumn foliage, a tree etched against the sky or some other of Nature's beauties—with discussion free and natural as the air, about the happy choice of a word, the imagery, the fuller meaning and message, the charm of fancy, the individual touches, the sympathetic notes of character interpretation, the wisdom, the wit, the philosophy, the emotional or intellectual appeal, would do infinitely more good to the mind than the whole field of literature studied as a task. The true understanding of the soul of one great book is greater than the knowledge of the mere anataomy of a thousand. Lincoln performed miracles of self-culture with three books—the Bible, Shakespeare and Aesop's Fables. This intensive culture is in the spirit of mental training. He who loves one book will discover others to love.

When the suggestion is made that a true system of education should train the individual for each of his seven lives,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the first reaction of many minds is the thought that each of them might be developed in a course of so many weeks with proper text-books. This is an initial mistake. You cannot train the physical body, develop character, generate high ideals and practice of morals, prepare for citizenship and for man's true relation to his fellow-man, awaken and intensify his love of the beautiful, inspire in him hight emotions and spiritualize his living by brief text-book courses. These great things must be gained in years of daily exercise, running as the warp and woof of the whole fabric of mental training. How does a wise mother seek to train her son to character? She seeks to make what she would teach the atmosphere of the home, to inspire him by example, to instill into his mind simple sound principles of right action, to surround him with right influences and to safeguard him from wrong ones, to help him to the best in reading and companionship, to make him not merely obedient but self-directing and morally self-supporting. These are but a few random suggestions of the atmosphere of the schoolroom in mental training.

The question that naturally comes to the mind in all this is: "How would we get time in the twelve years of elementary education, for the moment ignoring what the colleges should do, if we accepted this model as worth while?" The question is proper and pertinent. Time sufficient would there be to lay solid foundations in all of these and to raise a satisfying superstructure. The elimination of certain studies as distinct subjects of courses, the lessening of the scope of others, wiser and more psychologically true methods and the quickened power of the trained minds of the boy or girl to grasp and to assimilate would combine to furnish all the time necessary within, and perhaps very much within the twelve years of elementary and high school education. As to what the colleges now do or fail to do and what they should do is, as Kipling remarks, "Another story." It is too long to enter into at this time.

It will be said that it would require geniuses to teach in this spirit. This is not true. Reduced to its lowest terms

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what has been written seems but simple, common sense applied to a great problem. Teachers would have to be trained for the work, in its fullest bearings, and special books written on details of the subject and with suggestive exercises. Fifty years ago there was not a chauffeur, an aviator, a typist, a telephone operator or a wireless operator in the United States. The demand created the supply.

How could our present system be transformed into harmony with this suggested model, even if we accepted it?" To attempt here to propose even a few partial changes finally leading to fuller harmony seems unnecessary, unsatisfactory, an unwarranted intrusion and would serve only to open up a side discussion that would divert thought from the question at issue. In all that we have written against education as a whole, we wish to give full recognition to the good work in many directions done in many private educational institutions, but at their best they are handicapped and limited by being forced to prepare for entrance to college. Countless educators and psychologists, experimenters and thinkers, seeking a better way have worked out theories, methods, principles and practical details of real value. These would serve richly in correcting, elaborating, or strengthening our incompetent outline of a new model. Certain public schools, in advance of the others, have solved problems in self-government, civic training, play, manual training, children's gardens and other phases worthy only of praise. They have failed to do *more* merely because of the falsity of the basic theory of education.

In closing this series of articles two questions are of supreme importance: "Is preparing and training the individual for the seven lives he must live a sufficiently broad, practical conception of what education should accomplish?" "Is there a possible higher ideal or a more basic foundation for such training than making genius the revelation and the model for true education?" If the answer of the thinking public be one of approval, then the co-operation of educators can transform this vision of what might be into an actuality, this dream into a reality.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LAW THAT WILL END WAR

By WILLIAM GRANT BROWN

COURT of International Justice or World Court is a misnomer. It is a mere shibboleth employed by certain partisans to win popular confidence in their pretended effort to end war. By certain genuine friends of peace it is accepted as a slogan of battle for a basic principle of universal human aspirations. A court is a body in a Government to which the public administration of justice is delegated.

It is clear that a Government is essential to the existence of a court. Is there any world government thus far instituted capable of organizing a court? Is it not conceded that there is no such established government in existence? Surely the League of Nations supplies no such government even if it had been universally, duly adopted. Could any such government, under our conception of government, ever be instituted without first submitting its Constitution and Code of Law and Practice to a popular vote of the several sovereign peoples who are called upon to delegate whatever jurisdiction and authority such World Court might possess and exercise? Would not the preamble to such a Constitution and Code embrace substantially the following:

> It is self evident and assumed that; Nations belong to the citizenry of the respective countries with international obligations and duties not unlike those of individuals in their respective states; all Nations are and shall forever remain sovereign, independent and equal states, based upon universal suffrage and that all rights not surrendered to and specifically embraced in the Constitution and Code of Law and Practice after being authorized by popular vote of majority of the electors of each commonwealth, shall be reserved to the several states; peace is the natural inherent and inalienable right of man and offensive war is world treason.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will any sovereign free people accept less than this in the formation of a world government? If not, then will it not be essential that a world Constitution and Code of Law and Practice shall be proposed, submitted and voted upon at an election called for that purpose by the several states of the world? How can any court with adequate jurisdiction and authority ever be established except through and under such a Constitution and Code? Through what other procedure could there be established a court of law? Would not any other body be simply an advisory counsel or a commission without well-defined authority and jurisdiction without means of making its decrees effective?

The diplomats and statesmen may say foreign governments will not divest themselves of the right to wage war. Fifty-two have already done so by subscribing to the Treaty of Versailles. And this treaty, conceived and born in the heat of war, is but a temporary expedient of doubtful value and a possible menace to peace on account of its lack of a Constitution and Code of Law and Practice submitted to and approved by the citizenry of every nation before going into the parliament of man and the federation of the world. Diplomats and statesmen have occupied a place in the sun for so many centuries that it is more than can be expected of poor human nature that they will volunteer to surrender the prestige and glory of piloting international affairs and submit without protest to a calm, judicial disposition of world problems under the Constitution and Code of Law and Practice, instituted and approved by the citizens of the respective nations, not in the heat of war but in the calm of peace. The dualist resisted the right of courts to settle "questions of honor" to the last.

The Second Hague Peace Conference established the Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration. The Hague Tribunal failed because the larger nations declined to accept its decrees on even all judicable disputes between nations. A judicable dispute is one for which there is an established

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remedy at law. The immediate cause of failure being that no basis could be found, acceptable to the larger nations, for the selection of judges. In other words, there was no Constitution and Code of Law and Practice created as hereinbefore mentioned as a basis for a court.

The League of Nations undertook to supply this defect by providing for and creating the Council and the Assembly, the former being representative of the larger and the latter of the smaller nations. The Council refused, unconditionally to submit all judicable disputes to the World Court.

There is an optional provision now under consideration by the League of Nations whereby disputing nations may submit their differences on condition that both disputants sign an agreement to abide by the Court's decrees in all judicable disputes. France, England, Italy and Japan have refused to subscribe to this optional provision. Thus is proven the futility of undertaking to establish a court without founding it in and upon the solid rock of a written constitution and code of law duly adopted by democratic forms and legal methods. These four nations subscribed to the principle of adjudicating world problems but gave the lie to their pretensions when the crucial test arose and gave the *coup de grace* to the administration of world justice in a court of law. They resumed the old order of "might makes right."

The future interest of victor and vanquished in Europe are identical. Neither can prosper at the ruinous expense of the other. America will require that a basis of permanent justice and amity be inaugurated by them as a preliminary step to universal political co-operation.

Our government is founded upon the eternal principles of religion, equality, brotherhood and justice—democracy. Our statesmen are confined to these precepts and can follow only the course where they lead. The Hague Tribunal, League of Nations and World Court do not supply the essential foundation for world democracy and thus do not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supply a basis for a World Court and finally the necessary guarantees of international peace. Until these four debauchers of the Treaty of Versailles—Italy, France, Japan and Great Britain—shall actually accept the test of national sincerity established by more than two score other nations together with the preamble herein referred to, America will continue to distrust their sincerity and our statesmen will hesitate to submit a World Constitution and Code of Law and Practice under which a World Court can function, under which no serious difficulty would be encountered in the selection of judges therefor.

To such a court litigant nations would file their claims without hesitation, as their rights will be well defined by law. What country a judge comes from will be of no more concern to anyone than we entertain when we file a Bill in our Federal Courts. Such a Constitution and Code of Law and Practice will be limited in its jurisdiction and authority. All other matters will be deemed domestic affairs and within the reserved right of the several states of the world.

Does not honesty, patriotism and the call of humanity demand from any candidate for the presidency or the United States Senate, a frank statement, to the effect that our country can consider a world federation only upon the acceptance of the principles of this preamble by all federated states supplemented by a democratic adoption of a World Constitution and Code of Law and Practice?

The poet's dream of "the parliament of man and the federation of worlds" has, since the World War, become the obsession of everybody except the governing classes.

The candidate for the presidency, in the coming national election, should challenge his adversaries in his own and all other political parties to take this whole question out of partisan politics by means of a plank in the respective platforms which shall provide that by popular vote in the several respective countries, a federation of the world shall be established upon the underlying principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

States limited exclusively to international matters embracing no invasion of domestic matters, and providing therein for a Federation Court.

Such a program would commend itself to an overwhelming majority of the American people and the people of foreign countries would see the futility of any other course and insist upon their respective Governments proceeding accordingly in due course. It would result in a world federation with adequate jurisdiction and authority in its own sphere without imparing the domestic rights and sovereignty of any nation. It would enable the organization of a Federation Court and the selection of judges therefor, solely on their merits, without special regard to the country of their origin.

The world has seen hundreds of republics rise and fall, chiefly on account of the lack of written constitution and codes of laws based upon universal suffrage.

Hague Conferences, Leagues of Nations, World Courts, will all take a similar course unless the peoples of the earth, through their governments, or a world Fascisti by necessity, organize a world federation administered under a written basic law interpreted by judges, limited by said law, and not by their prejudices and caprices as would be the case under any present proposal.

No nation, organized pursuant to the Washington-Lincoln conception, will ever trust their destinies to any court, even of their own selection, unless that court is limited absolutely in jurisdiction and authority by a law of the peoples' enactment.

THE CRY OF THE WIND

By EUGENE C. DOLSON

It is not the scud of clouds
Veiling the moon's face,
Nor the sea's monotonous boom,
That makes tonight seem desolate.
It is the Wind's voice—
The homeless Wind
Crying aloud as she hurries on,
Companionless and lost, over the world.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RETURN OF THE TURK

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

(Continued from May Number)

II.

It is not easy to say with certainty to what extent the European powers desired the American government to participate in the rule of parts of the former Turkish Empire, beyond an apparent unanimity in wishing to assign to America the difficult and unprofitable highland Armenian country. In 1919 it appeared that both the English and the French desired to control Constantinople, the Italians desired the greater part of Asia Minor, and the French proposed to retain Cilicia along with Syria, while the British assumed it to be as settled as the Rock of Gibraltar that they should have control of Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia. The question of whether under any circumstances America might have taken a mandate for some portions of Turkey is now purely academic. In 1919 it was mixed up with the declining influence of President Wilson and the domestic political situation. It may be that had the President preserved his health and vigor, he would have persuaded the American people to accept some charge. It was the opinion of many who were familiar with the situation that to take highland Armenia alone would be more difficult and costly both in men and money than to take the whole of Asia Minor and Constantinople. The chief consideration leading to this opinion was that highland Armenia alone would necessitate the subjugation of the Turks through fighting, whereas the whole area might have been taken with the consent of the Turks as well as of the other inhabitants. There can be no doubt that the United States avoided a great many difficulties in refusing all share in the government of Turkish territory. Nevertheless, it may at some future date cost us a great deal more, when we may be compelled to intervene under less favorable circumstances. The policy of with-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drawal is one of passive selfishness which is equally reprehensible with the active selfishness of the European powers.

That the more idealistic policy was the better one seems to be borne out by the extensive failure of the practical policy that actually came to be followed in the Near East. The Armenians have continued to perish, and they have been wholly expelled from Asia Minor. The Greeks have been driven out to an extent that was not dreamed of in 1919. Independent Greece, which it was proposed to strengthen and make glorious as an advance guard of civilization in the Near East, has been ruined and abandoned. The Turks have been turned from vanquished into victors. The hold of even powerful France and victorious England upon Syria and Mesopotamia has become precarious and uncertain. The whole Islamic world, and all the lesser peoples of Asia have passed from a sense of hopeless inferiority in the presence of European civilization to a state of increasing expectation that they will be restored to independence and equality, and perhaps in time to hegemony.

The starting point of Turkish recovery seems very clearly to have been the Greek occupation of Smyrna in May, 1919. By the agreement of 1916 Italy had been promised possession of Smyrna, but the British and French did not feel themselves wholly bound to carry this out. At an earlier date western Asia Minor, including Smyrna, had been offered to Greece by the Entente, if she would join them in the war, but King Constantine had blocked the acceptance of the offer. Whether M. Venizelos had been definitely promised the Smyrna region I do not know, but I do know from conversation with the man himself that the Greek representatives in Paris were working hard to get Smyrna and considerable adjacent territory. When the Italians discovered at Paris in 1919 that there was a general reluctance to deliver to them a full portion of the spoils of war, they determined to act for themselves. They began at Adalia to occupy the territory which had been promised them. Proceeding westward and northward along the shore

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they would shortly have reached Smyrna. At this juncture, in order to halt their progress, Messrs. Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Wilson authorized M. Venizelos to occupy Smyrna and a limited territory beyond. The Greeks landed, committed some atrocities, occupied the territory assigned, and proceeded to go beyond it. The Turks resisted as best they could, and in the process the city of Aidin was nearly destroyed. This occupation of the Smyrna region aroused the Turks from the apparently hopeless apathy into which they had fallen after the armistice. They lost confidence in the possibility of receiving fair treatment from the Entente. They concluded that if there was any salvation for them they must work it out for themselves. Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who had served with distinction as a general during the war, set up in Angora the standard of Turkish nationalism. Soon a government was built up which avoided legal difficulties by the declaration that it was acting in the name of the Sultan, who was under hostile restraint at Constantinople.

Already there was marked divergence of feeling as between France and Britain over the situation in Syria. Yet for some months these two powers maintained a united front in support of the Greeks and against the Turks in Asia Minor. But Italy had been seriously offended by the action at Smyrna and promptly began to show friendliness to the Turks. She is affirmed to have supplied considerable quantities of arms and ammunition to Mustapha Kemal in the summer of 1919 and later. The Russians, whose Bolshevik government was then as it is still kept in the position of an outlaw among the nations, began promptly to sympathize with the nationalist Turks. It can hardly be the case that the Russians have supplied the nationalist Turks with any considerable amount of war material, for the simple reason that they have had none to spare. The Turks had been able to save some arms and ammunition after the armistice, inasmuch as there had been no serious attempt to disarm them.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The treaty with Turkey was slowly worked out and Turkish delegates were summoned from Constantinople in the spring of 1920. Though the Constantinople government had been made over under British and French influence, nevertheless, the handpicked delegates declined at first to sign the treaty. Pressure was put upon them by permitting the Greeks to occupy eastern Thrace and to advance in Asia Minor, and finally the document was signed. The Angora government indignantly repudiated the treaty, and it actually never received a ratification at Constantinople.

The modern Greeks have been known as a people of great self-esteem, to whose imagination nothing has been impossible. Their opinion of themselves in the summer of 1920 surpassed all precedents. M. Venizelos believed that the Greek army could without assistance whip the nationalist Turks, and impose upon them terms of peace far severer than those involved in the treaty of Sèvres. This belief seems to have been shared by Mr. Lloyd George. The French, however, were cooling as regards the Greeks, in proportion as the latter accepted favors from the British. M. Venizelos ordered the Greek army to advance, and it made some progress. But a second advance was halted and winter was coming on. At this time it became necessary to hold an election in Greece, and the result showed that M. Venizelos had become very unpopular among his people. He was defeated, and King Constantine was invited to come back. The return of the exiled king put an end to all French sympathy with Greece. It was a shock to the British government, and they could not bring themselves to recognize the restored monarch. Still they continued in a less open way to support the Greeks. The French on the other hand began seriously to consider making peace with the Turks.

In 1921 King Constantine, having purged the army of a large portion of its officers and having renewed its spirit by forecasts of victory, ordered another advance in Anatolia. Considerable gains were made at first, but in the second movement, which was expected to rout the Turks and cap-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture Angora, the Greeks were defeated. At the close of the fighting season they were far from the Nationalist capital. In December the French concluded an agreement with the Turks which came very near to being a separate peace. King Constantine now found himself in serious financial difficulties. The army was thoroughly discouraged, being composed largely of citizen soldiers who had been held with the colors long beyond their expectation. The Greeks were ready to abandon Asia Minor, and early in 1922 a conference was held at London wherein this was proposed.

But the nationalist Turks had drawn up before this time a "pact" in which they declared that they would not lay down their arms until they had recovered not only Smyrna but Eastern Thrace, and until they had obtained a treaty which would leave them completely independent, both financially and otherwise. At London a year ago no one was ready to grant the Turks so much, and the conference failed. Then followed throughout the spring and summer of 1922 a state of deadlock in Anatolia, as far as the fighting forces were concerned. The Greeks transferred a portion of their regular troops to Thrace. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of guerilla warfare, in which Turkish and Greek bands continued to operate in northern and western Asia Minor, with the usual infliction of terrible atrocities upon the non-combatant population.

The *dénouement* was unexpected. Late in August the concentrated Turkish forces struck the Greek line near the middle and broke through with ease. A cavalry detachment captured even the Greek Commander-in-Chief. The Greeks began a flight which was rapid almost beyond parallel in military history. The greater part of the army reached the sea-coast at various points, though they left behind them most of their equipment. The fleeing soldiers were followed by large numbers of the Greek civil population, most of whom were overtaken by the pursuing Turks. The subsequent events are well known. Hundreds of thousands of refugees were taken from the seaports to points in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Kingdom of Greece. The Turks detained the able-bodied men as hostages. The city of Smyrna was largely destroyed by fire. (It may never be determined how this conflagration started. The problem resembles that of the burning of Moscow at the time when Napoleon I entered it in 1812.) The Turks restored their government in the whole of western Asia Minor. They soon came into contact with British troops stationed near the Dardanelles and Bosphorus.

The Turks felt that they had won a great victory. This was not true actually, though perhaps it was true potentially. Actually they had simply put to flight a thoroughly discouraged army. But they felt that they had defeated not merely war-weary Greece, but the entire Entente combination, which had intended to destroy them utterly. There was this measure of truth in their belief, that neither the French nor the British peoples were willing to send armies to fight them, and that they were now able to negotiate with the Great Powers not as helpless vanquished, but on approximately equal terms. They were perhaps the more convinced that they had won a great victory, when they saw that Mr. Lloyd George issued an appeal to the British dominions and to the states of the Little Entente to come to the aid of England against them. This manifesto of the Lloyd George government appears to have been unnecessary and unwise, though some say that without it the Turks would have overwhelmed the scanty British forces at the straits, rushed across Thrace, and gone who knows how far, perhaps precipitating the renewal of general war. Such a supposition appears to be fantastic, for the victory over the Greeks had not increased the number of the Turkish soldiers or the quantity of their ammunition. Be that as it may, the call of the British Empire to arms, following the collapse of Mr. Lloyd George's policies in the Near East, was the immediate cause of his downfall.

A conference was held at Mudania by the Turkish and Allied representatives, and a second armistice was arranged,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

almost exactly four years after the armistice of Mudros. In this arrangement the Turks were on the whole successful, for while the British face was saved by their retention of troops at Chanak and Constantinople, the Greeks were compelled to evacuate Western Thrace, and the way was prepared for Nationalist control of Constantinople. In the succeeding weeks Nationalist officers and soldiers crossed quietly to the famous city, and undermined the authority of the feeble Turkish government there. Sultan Mohammed VI became alarmed and fled. The Nationalists were able to name his successor, but before doing so they abolished the title and power of Sultan and nominated Abdul Mejid, with the simple title of Caliph, as religious head for the Turkish people. A little later they nominated Adnan Bey governor of Constantinople, thereby reducing the former proud capital to the condition of a province, administered by authority from little Angora. These revolutionary measures were carried through under the helpless guns of the allied battleships. Thus was avoided shrewdly the submission of any essential part of the Nationalist government to foreign control. As in 1876 the British battleships could not climb the Balkan mountains, so in 1923 they can not bombard a city in the heart of Asia Minor.

In the meantime the Conference of Lausanne assembled and attempted to work out a treaty. It was here, as stated at the outset of this discussion, that the Turkish diplomatists alone played an even game with the great powers of the world. They obtained a large part of their claims, so many indeed that the failure to reach a final agreement seemed absurd. Apparently this failure came about for two reasons. First, Ismet Pasha and the Turkish delegation were strongly bound by rigid instructions from Angora, and did not dare consent to certain provisions which might be considered to violate the Nationalist "Pact." Second, the French, Belgians, and Italians, who at the present time form a fairly solid group, insisted on an extent of financial control which the Turkish delegation felt would impair

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their sovereignty. It is claimed by Lord Curzon, who presided over the conference, that every point in dispute between Britain and Turkey was either settled or postponed by agreement, so that the failure resulted from the demands of the Latin group.

It may be that underlying the failure of the Lausanne Conference is the fact that the situation in the Ruhr remains uncertain. There is much evidence that several months ago the British and French governments agreed that Britain should handle the settlement with Turkey, France acquiescing, and that France might try such methods as she thought best for settling with Germany. Inasmuch as the outcome of the French attempt to settle with Germany can not be predicted, the French might be unwilling to allow a British settlement with Turkey to be consummated.

Another possible reason for French objection to the settlement at Lausanne may lie in conflicting railroad concessions. In 1900 when Germany was advancing the arrangements for the Bagdad railroad, Russia secured for herself by way of compensation the right to build railways in eastern and northern Asia Minor. Russian finances were never equal to the task, and shortly before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 the Russians made over to the French the right to build these railroads. Detailed surveys were made, and work was nearly ready to be begun. The French have desired to relinquish none of these concessions, and they believed that the Turks had renewed them in the Angora Conference in 1921. Now in the years before the war an American group headed by Rear Admiral Chester attempted to get concessions for railway building in Asia Minor which would contravene those granted to the European Powers. It was then impossible to make such arrangements against the united opposition of France, Russia, and Germany. Within the last few months Admiral Chester renewed his application, and has been granted liberal concessions. It is hard to see how the French, who are tenacious in all financial matters, could have consented to a treaty at Lau-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sanne which would have failed to renew the Russo-French pre-war railway concessions. But there is strong reason to believe that the Turks are really desirous of having these interior railroads built by Americans. They are too well aware of the way in which European imperialism has regarded railway concessions as opening wedges for territorial ownership, to feel easy at the prospect of permitting French-owned railways in the heart of their country. On the other side not only the time-honored American policy of non-intervention, but numerous recent refusals to undertake political responsibility in the Near East, makes the Turks feel confident that the United States will not follow up investment by conquest. It is therefore quite possible that the Chester concessions have been an important factor in the failure to obtain a treaty at Lausanne.

In endeavoring to estimate the position of the Turks in the present and the immediate future it is necessary first of all to consider the possibility of a new general European war. If that should come, it would probably last a considerable time, and obviously no one can foresee the outcome. Turkey could hardly fail to be involved in such a war. She would be likely to suffer less from it than western European countries, owing to her retarded industrial development. She has been at war pretty continuously for twelve years, and war has become, so to speak, a habitual condition. Her soldiers are able to live with such frugality that she seems able to carry on war without the tremendous machinery of borrowing and spending demanded by the Great Powers. In such a general war it seems unlikely that any Power, great or small, will invade Anatolia. Greece might attempt the conquest of eastern Thrace, but the Greek disintegration is such that success would be unlikely. Of course Constantinople might be bombarded and burned, which would be another triumph for western civilization in the Levant. On the other side Turkey might easily make gains in the direction of Mesopotamia and Syria. The population of those lands are restive under the rule of Britain and France,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

however much the foreign control may be disguised by mandates and native participation. The line-up of the European powers in such a war is by no means certain, when one considers the cross purposes between the French and English with regard to Germany, Turkey, and Russia. On the whole the chances seem to be that by a renewal of general war Turkey would not lose, but might even gain in territory and position before the world.

If on the other hand war should be avoided, for say the next decade, the prospect of Turkey's continued prominence is strongly conditioned by the rivalry between England and France. The chance is that England will become the friend and France the opponent of Turkey. This reversal of roles may seem at first sight improbable, but it has already taken place to a considerable extent. With the defeat of last autumn England seems definitely to have abandoned Greece. After the fall of Lloyd George, perhaps even before that time, the policy of the British foreign office appeared to swing around to the position that it was better once again to strengthen Turkey as a possible "Buffer State" between the Russian and British interests in the Levant. While the policies of all the European powers have shifted from time to time, as a general rule Britain has been traditionally the friend of Turkey. British statesmen have often taken longer views than those of France. In particular the policy of France since the armistice has appeared to be shortsightedly related to immediate gain. The French have blown hot and cold in the Near East to such an extent that neither Turkey nor Russia can feel confidence in the permanence of any agreement France might make. But the Turks know that the interest of Britain will for a long time to come be conserved by a watchful attitude toward Russia. Whereas from 1908 to 1917 the chronic British rivalry with Russia was obscured by the more active and dangerous German rivalry upon the seas, this condition has been entirely changed by the destruction of the German fleet. No motive remains apparent which might lead Bri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain to sacrifice Turkish friendship in order to evade great danger. Accordingly Britain can be counted on for some time to come to support the recovery of Turkish strength. On the other hand there is reason to fear that the French policy is riding for a fall. No European power has ever succeeded in maintaining during a long period an aggressive policy both overseas and on the continent of Europe. France has fallen more than once in such an attempt but nevertheless she continues to press forward in the process of accumulating two groups of hostilities.

It seems probable then that Turkey will maintain something like her present independent position through immediate future years. What will be her condition as regards financial recovery and economic prosperity? It is clear that the weight of heavy debt can not be avoided. Only her recent victory over the Greeks prevents that debt from being so great as to preclude all possible recovery. Such has been the character of all the settlements since 1918 that were any of them to be carried out literally the enemy power affected would by no manner or means ever recover. But Turkey's relatively victorious position makes it impossible to enforce upon her utterly ruinous regulations. Nevertheless she will not be permitted to maintain a respectable place among the nations except by consenting to pay a considerable proportion of her past debts.

The extirpation and expulsion of nearly all of her former Christian population, aside from the moral problem involved, brings Turkey face to face with a serious economic question. The expelled Armenians and Greeks, if the plan be fully carried out so as to leave none in Turkey except two or three hundred thousand in the city of Constantinople, means a loss since 1914 of four or five million people. It means a loss of practically all the merchants who handled trade with the outer world, of most of the local merchants and artisans of the cities and towns of Asia Minor, and of no small proportion of the industrial agricultural population which provided the nation with foodstuffs

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and various other raw materials. It leaves Anatolia and Thrace with not over two-thirds of their former population; perhaps with not more than half if allowance be made for the loss of military and civilian population among Turks and Kurds. The remaining population will be deficient in able-bodied men, and in artisans and merchants. Very few can be called well educated in a modern sense. The task of carrying on the processes of living in such a depleted and insufficient peasant population are truly appalling. The intentions of the nationalist governing group are excellently expressed, and no doubt are largely sincere. But it is one thing to will the extension of popular education, the development of a society capable of supplying all its own economic needs, and the creation of a modern efficient prosperous civilization; and it is quite another thing to bring such plans to fruition. Money is not at hand for constructing buildings, for providing farm machinery, for capitalizing retail and wholesale business, and for establishing credit abroad. The trained personnel does not exist to educate the Turkish community in many of the new duties that will fall upon it. It would seem that under the best conditions a heart-breaking struggle is ahead.

Of course it may be that when peace does come for Turkey, permission will be granted for useful Greeks and Armenians to return and live in the home land of their ancestors. There are also signs that considerable numbers of Italians will be introduced to aid in the construction of roads, buildings, and railroads. But if the Nationalist Turks are true to their declarations, and if furthermore they seek to avoid in the future the foreign intervention which has cursed them in the past, they can never again permit a large proportion of their population to be composed of non-Turkish elements. So on the whole they must face the problem with only the capacities of the Turkish people and the resources of Anatolia and Thrace. They hope for the investment of much capital from outside. But whence can they obtain it? The countries of western Europe have no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great surplus upon which to draw. America has plenty of money, but most of her citizens are too much prejudiced against the Turks and in general against distant enterprises to be willing to take a hand in the Levant. Those who have the willingness and the money will almost certainly find themselves seriously hindered by the intrigues of western Europeans.

Thus the outlook for independent Turkey can in no sense be considered brilliant. If she is to succeed in the days to come, it must be on a basis of dogged perseverance, with very patient endurance of many hardships and difficulties. Ten years of time will suffice only for the beginning of a long process. There is in the character of the Turkish common people and in the Mohammedan religion a noteworthy power of maintaining patient effort under adverse conditions. The difficulty with this attitude in the past has been that it served only to continue existing circumstances. There was regularly little effort toward and little hope for genuine improvement. So it will be necessary, if the new Turkey is to succeed, that her leaders remain strong and hopeful, and that they press steadily toward better things.

MY HOME IN HOLLAND

By SYLVIA CUSHMAN

Where the dykes of quaint old Holland,
Guard the city from the sea,
There's a little, low, white cottage
That is all this world to me.

There is peace and happiness,
And romance has it's fling,
When the tulips gaily bloom, dear,
With the coming of spring.

Ah, the windmills they are beckoning,
South winds calling o'er the sands,
With the tulips I'll return, love,
To my home in Holland.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

W. R. HEARST

By JOHN F. HYLAN

NEXT year the American people will elect a President of the United States and this coming presidential election is narrowed down to the question: Do the people of this country want their government transacted for the benefit of self-seeking groups or administered as advocated by Abraham Lincoln, "of, by and for the people"? To insure the complete restoration of such a government as Lincoln demanded the people would do well to stand squarely behind the greatest exponent and champion of popular rights that has loomed upon the national horizon in the last forty years—William Randolph Hearst.

I am very frank in making this statement and I want to say in this connection that in making it I am entirely free from all personal motives and that I am alone actuated by sheer admiration for the man who I honestly believe would fill that great position of national trust and honor with the highest credit to himself and profit to his native land. My acquaintance with men and affairs has been large and varied and from the knowledge thus obtained, I can candidly say that Mr. Hearst, notwithstanding the fact that he has not always agreed with me in everything I have done, is one of the greatest living Americans today. In order to demonstrate the truth of this assertion I am going to portray some of the personal characteristics and the public deeds of the man whom I am now publicly advocating as the best-equipped candidate for the presidency of the United States.

Mr. Hearst has great wealth, it is true. Some of this he inherited, but the bulk of it came from his personal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

efforts. Despite this great wealth, he continually shows that his sympathies and his heart are with the people.

In his private and home life Mr. Hearst is generous and thoughtful. He is greatly devoted to his family and is a real pal, as well as a father, to his five children, all boys, and all fine specimens of American boyhood. One evening last summer at Saratoga, Mr. and Mrs. Hearst and I were leisurely strolling along when Mr. Hearst suddenly observed a toy shop. All talk came to an end. He and Mrs. Hearst entered the shop and were there for quite a while. When they came out Mr. Hearst was broadly smiling with a bundle of toys for his children under one of his arms. But not only are his own children uppermost in his mind; his thoughts extend to the welfare and the happiness of all children, and he is constantly doing something to promote their welfare and their happiness. Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, his mother, told me of the sympathetic heart of her son to whom no appeal to help the little ones was ever made in vain.

For several years I have personally observed Mr. and Mrs. Hearst in their charitable work. I have seen them at Christmas time distributing to the very poorest of the city baskets filled with chickens, potatoes, fruits and other edibles. They have sent thousands of poor women and children on their way with beaming faces and prayers on their lips. I fully realize the joy that Mrs. Hearst must get out of supervising and buying all those things, and I know from those who have worked with her, how particular she is to secure the best she can for those who are benefitted by the New York American Christmas Fund and the many other Hearst charities. I do not believe there is any person living who has done more for the poor of New York City than Mr. Hearst. And this is also true of Mrs. Hearst who has done such splendid work on the Mayor's Committee in providing free boat rides, lunches and ice cream for the poor mothers and their children, and in giving thousands of quarts of milk to the babies, and,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in innumerable ways, bringing a little sunshine into the shadows of the tenement districts of New York.

I am told that in the hard times of 1907, 1908 and 1909 Mr. Hearst gave orders to his editors to boost business in every issue of his newspapers and that while this was being done he published articles on the hardship of the poor who were thrown out of work by forced unemployment. His purpose in publishing those articles was to awaken business men to the dangers of unemployment that would reduce purchasing power, cause further injury to business, and result in added suffering to the poor. While he was doing this through the columns of his newspapers, Mr. Hearst caused hundreds of tons of food and clothing to be distributed to those who were out of work and who were huddled together in the tenements—sometimes to the extent of three and four families in a two-, three- or four-room apartment. But not a word of those personal distributions was published in his newspapers.

Personally I feel greatly indebted to Mr. Hearst. He has stood by me in my entire mayorality term in my efforts to drive out the vicious influences in government, to make the city clean and free from commercial vice and gambling, and without his personal support and the support of his powerful newspapers, the fight would have been doomed to failure. When I first met Mr. Hearst, eight years ago, I introduced myself and thanked him for the support his papers gave to me when I ran for County Judge in Kings County. He received me kindly and said: "You are under no obligation to me for such support except that I hope you will consider it an obligation to continue to work for the best interests of the people."

More than eight years have elapsed since that public-spirited utterance. During all that time Mr. Hearst has shown his constant loyalty to the cause of good and clean municipal government. This is well illustrated by an incident which occurred shortly after the Syracuse convention. The principal Democratic nominee of the Convention had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

earlier stated his determination not to accept a position on the same ticket with Mr. Hearst because of some misunderstanding. There were many who feared that this situation might work injury to a number of other Democratic nominees on the ticket, particularly those for Congress and the State Senate and Assembly. At the first opportunity I discussed this matter with Mr. Hearst. He promptly told me that at no time would he enter upon any course which would militate against the interests of any candidate on the Democratic ticket, so long as such candidate stood squarely on the Democratic platform, as such platform was in accord with the people's wishes. It was not a personal question of the man with him, but principle. So, instead of harboring resentment, he came out in open advocacy of the Democratic ticket, and his dignified position before, during and after the convention made it clear to all that no amount of misrepresentation would cause him to allow his personal feelings to master his interest in the public good and welfare.

That Mr. Hearst is a typical example of a true American is evidenced by the high stand taken by his newspapers on all public questions. For the past forty years these newspapers have been absolutely American in tone and progressive in spirit. They constitute a powerful agency for the clean and honest government laid down by Washington and Jefferson and upheld by Lincoln. Mr. Hearst's fearlessness and courage are proverbial. To him belongs the largest share of credit for the honest election that was held in New York City a short time ago, because for many years he has fought to purify the ballot. I remember when he first exposed the traction crooks in New York City he was threatened and warned to discontinue his disclosures, but he continued day after day the publication of the Amory articles and finally forced an unwilling district attorney into action.

One of Mr. Hearst's great public fights was made in 1906-7-8 against the Rockefellers, Bradys and their power-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ful money associates who controlled the Consolidated Gas Company and all the other gas companies in New York City. Mr. Hearst had them in the courts for three or four years and finally won a verdict from the highest court that gas should be sold to consumers at a rate not higher than eighty cents a thousand cubic feet. This verdict caused the immediate return of $12,000,000 to consumers and a saving of about $6,000,000 a year for ten years thereafter, until Judge Mayer, on motion of the gas companies, permitted them to charge $1.40 and $1.50 a thousand cubic feet. Since then the stock of the Consolidated Gas Company has risen to $150 a share and the company now pays nine per cent dividends. His fight against the politicians to prevent the Ramapo water grab, involving millions of dollars of the people's money, his heroic struggles to prevent the water power trusts from seizing the last valuable natural resources remaining to the public, and his battle with the coal barons are notable events in the annals of state service through newspapers.

Naturally all these fights for the public good brought forth criticism against him, and the reason for this criticism can be best explained by repating a conversation which I had with a prominent society man in Saratoga. This man asked me why I was an admirer of Mr. Hearst.

"You know," said he, "Mr. Hearst was born rich. By fortune, by environment, by education and by circumstances, he is one of us. He has, however, deserted us and gone over to the common people to take up the cudgel for them. If he had been dragged into it he might be forgiven, but he did it of his own accord, leaving the circle of his social friends, and he has been doing it for the last forty years. By his battles against the so-called masses he has antagonized both the wealthy and those of high social standing, and, of course, there is no place for him in exclusive circles. He could have lived an easier life and have had many friends among those of high social standing. He took himself too seriously when his father,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senator Hearst, gave him the *San Francisco Examiner* to play with."

The last remark prompted me to tell my companion a story that was told to me by an old friend of Senator Hearst. The Senator was very proud of his son's success with the San Francisco paper and told the story of it in this way:

"When Will left Harvard University"—so the Senator said—"I offered him my great ranch. Will replied:

" 'Why, Father, what good will my college education do me if I run a ranch? There is just one thing you own that I want; that is the *San Francisco Examiner.*'

" 'Will,' I said, 'the *Examiner* is just old junk. I only bought it for political purposes. It has cost a whole lot of money.'

" 'That is because you ran it only for politics,' replied Will. 'If it were made into a newspaper it would make money. You give it to me and I will make a newspaper of it as well as a great property.'

"I laughed and said, 'Well, you are not asking for much, because I have been anxious to get rid of it.' "

"That story is a new one to me," said the society man, "but I must admit that Mr. Hearst did make a wonderful successful property of the *Examiner.* At first I laughed when I heard he was actually trying to run the *Examiner,* but before we knew it he was in a mixup with the Southern Pacific Railroad and with most of the big politicians out there. He charged that many of the politicians were crooked and in the pay of the railroad. I felt sure that he had gone mad with newspaper power and I expected he would spend the remainder of his life in jail for libel, but he did not, and I was certainly surprised.

"There is scarcely one of Hearst's old cronies who is intimate with him now because he has drawn away from all of us by his constant hammering at the so-called interests. I understand he paid thousands of dollars for those letters written by Standard Oil officials to statesmen, judges and politicians referring to checks sent to them as cam-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paign contributions. This got him more disliked by the wealthy element and those of high social standing."

That is the picture of Mr. Hearst presented to me by that society man who is a powerful figure in Wall Street and who looked with such ill grace upon the benevolent activities of the great publisher and philanthropist. I got the other side of the picture from Mr. Hearst himself a few days later. I told him what his old friend, now prominent in society, had said. Mr. Hearst replied:

"It is too bad that this gentleman and his set feel that way about me. I am frank to say, however, that my sympathy is with, and I like to meet and greet the ordinary citizen who, by his own honest labor, keeps his little family in comfort and contentment. That type of American is, after all, the very bone and sinew of our country, and in his rights and privileges he must be protected at all times from those who would exploit and rob him of them; and so I shall continue this fight with all the power at my command, as I have no sympathy with those who want to live high at the expense of the masses."

Another cause of the criticism of Mr. Hearst is that the newspaper owners who have been beaten by him in the race for supremacy naturally do not like the man who beat them. Mr. Hearst owns a score of newspapers and a score of magazines—a business he has personally built up by his own efforts and ability, and, in addition to his own enterprises, he serves hundreds of other publications through his news service and news films. He is undoubtedly the most powerful factor today in the public affairs of this country, standing between the plain people and the Wall Street extorters, the exploiting food barons and those who wish to accumulate fortunes at the expense of the labors of others. In addition, it should be considered that Mr. Hearst has done more than all other newspaper owners combined to increase the wages of newspaper workers in every branch of the business in the United States. Of course that action has eaten into the profits of other newspapers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I know something about labor and wages, having driven a locomotive and worked as a laborer and stoker when I was young, and so I know of my own knowledge, that when Mr. Hearst started as a newspaper owner in New York City, the drivers had no union and were paid from $10 to $12 a week. The Union of Newspaper Drivers was organized in Mr. Hearst's office by one of Mr. Hearst's own men with Mr. Hearst's encouragement. These drivers are now making between $50 and $60 a week. They have decent hours and can take care of their families, and that union formed with Mr. Hearst's assistance, and the increase in wages that followed, cost the owners of other newspapers hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. Every large newspaper and many of those controlled by the big interests that exploit the people, have to spend for labor thousands of dollars more a year than they would have had to spend if it had not been for Mr. Hearst, Moreover, one can hardly expect them to like him when he exposes their schemes engineered by their corporation masters, to rob the people. When they attack him they do not say: "We hate Hearst because he made us pay more to our men and he interferes with the raids we are helping our financial backers to make on the people and the public purse." That would not go very well with the public.

In this connection there is an incident which occurred some years ago that shows to what length rival newspaper publishers, backed by the interests, will go to discredit Mr. Hearst. The Hearst's news-service was growing rapidly and some of the rival publishers were anxious to check it. They enlisted the aid of the then Mayor in New York City and they induced him to publically assail Mr. Hearst at a banquet which these publishers gave. This he did because he felt a personal grievance against Mr. Hearst. But instead of discrediting the Hearst service and Mr. Hearst these publishers reflected very seriously upon themselves and some of them were compelled to pay large sums in settlement of libel actions against them, while others humbly apologized in the columns of their newspapers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Hearst has consistently and persistently opposed the entanglement of America in European brawls. That is the Americanism of the Hearst newspapers. It is not the Americanism of those who put the welfare of foreign countries above their own and who would not scruple to use the flower of our American youth under the guise of patriotism in the protection and promotion of their private interests abroad. The Americanism of Mr. Hearst is the Americanism of all those who believe that we should preserve on our American soil the mighty edifice of our American institution and go on minding our own business, as we have done so successfully for nearly a century and a half. So I say that William Randolph Hearst is doing more for humanity than any other living American by employing his time, talents and money and newspaper service in the people's battles against self-seeking interests, the traction looters, the food monopolists, the political grafters, the war-crazed munition manufacturers and the financial manipulators. The whole kit and caboodle of vicious elements hate him, but the plain, every-day citizens admire him for his courage and humanity. That is why I, too, admire him, and that is why I want to see him elected President of the United States of America.

I WOULD MAKE A SONG

By JULIA POWELL

I would make a song for you,
But I have only words,
While summer has her silver leaves
Wind-clashed, and brooks and birds.

When I am gone, and a glad rain
Goes singing down the sky,
Holding your heart in memories,
Will you know if it be I?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TWO ESSAYS

By ROBERT BRIDGES
(*British Poet Laureate*)

1. AFFECTION

TO be intimate with but a few, and to treat the rest of the world with formality, is a rule of Manners that wisdom will approve. Affection is but a concentration of our purified sympathy; and that we become most heartily attached to those whom we best know, is an experience which should extend our charity towards all; but if all are in some respect worthy, some will be less worthy, nor will all be equally to our liking. Moreover, a man must take his friends from his own rank and acquaintance; so that our chosen are ever fewer than our chance companions.

There is more danger of bestowing affection too freely than of withholding it too much; and it is the sourest thing in life to have to go back on our kindliness. Affection may be selfish in two ways; since you may usurp a man's attention or company when others are desiring it, or you may occupy him when he would prefer another entertainment. Complete mutual intimacy must be rare, but by too compunctious scruples we may often miss what we should be justified in enjoying. Friends differ in this respect from lovers; and yet among schoolfellows, whether boys or girls, affection is very like the lover's; both because considerate scruple is unknown, and because through very incomprehension of love their emotion may innocently borrow of the deeper instinct. But the chief characteristic of this young affection is the importance with which it is invested, wherein it comes not behind the most extravagant lover's ideal; although, at least between boys, it is free from their fondlings and handlings; for such endearments, except on pitiful and tragic occasions, are foreign to friendly affection, and proper only towards brutes, babes and idiots, who cannot be assured by spiritual approaches.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How far sorrow on the untimely death of one who has strongly held our affection be a selfish feeling is hard to say. A parent's love is more than affection, and a father's bereavement of an only son is incomparable: but among friends and equals, beside the torture of our sympathies, which is a pain variously felt, there is the unmitigated grief of disappointment whether for either or for both. The promises and prospects of hope and desire feed the liberty and happiness of life; they are like a far landscape of sky and hills, which makes a dweller on this earth contented with his home, and to blot them out darkens everything. Wherever we may be, we are sadder on damp and cloudy days; and these occasions are the foul weather of the soul.

It is our human limitation that we must be indifferent to so many of our fellows; and as the rarity of a gift enhances its value, so a dear friendship is like an oasis in the desert. Nor is our common indifference a blamable coldness; though we might love any we cannot specially love all, and our manners, if they outrun our actual feeling, attaint their own honesty and degrade the sacred language of friendship; the sum of friendship being that complete familiarity which cannot be given except mutually. To offer any part of it to another is to demand as much of him; so that the conventional reserve of good manners is the true courtesy.

2. Deliberation

Men who have liberty of choice, and have not been warped away will come to their congenial pursuit. And though in youth there may be fair promises and indications of natural aptitudes which seem to justify the advice of experience, yet is all meddling direction dangerous; for it is seen every day how a man will ripen rich talents and peculiar gifts that were undetected by those who had more closely watched and taught him. Moreover if you guide one aright, you will have done nothing, for he would have taken his course of himself. It is safer to oppose a youthful determination than to assist it; for if it be genuine and healthy, it will flourish in spite of you and gain strength from your opposition; whereas you might otherwise be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

setting a vanity on its legs. Our hereditary aristocracy know this.

Among the busy I have thought easily to distinguish men who are fulfilling their nature from those who are occupied in the accomplishment of imposed tasks; even though the most will come heartily to like whatever they have learned to do well. The pleasure of congenial activity is complete happiness, and its tranquil enthusiasm and indifference to opinion are almost a nobility of mind, and provoke as much admiration. He who gets most delight from his own pursuit will be best able to feel sympathy with another's; and needing none himself he is a most generous companion. Still may a narrow nature thus enrapt readily grow selfish and pedantic; but to look for immediate applause is some sign that it is undeserved, and the best are suspicious of it, and, save in the field of action, will deem that they must have missed in something to be so unadvisedly comprehended.

It is when we deliberate, that is, weigh one consideration against another and employ Reason to guide our course, that difficulties arise. One must trust so far as one may to instinct and feeling, for they are the cement of the temple of our life binding together all contingency and accident, and securing the proportion and stability of our character. When in doubt it is a good general rule that if the matter be of small significance you shall act, but if it be of importance refrain: because in lesser concerns indolence is the common drag, while in great affairs hesitation betrays some lack of the Will, without which nothing weighty should be undertaken. There is no security that you will carry it through unless your heart be in it. A man must be well established in conviction ere he walk with the martyrs.

'Tis Epictetus, I think, who tells the tale of one Florus, to whom, when he was debating whether he would obey Nero's order to act a part in one of that tyrant's disgraceful spectacles, Agrippinus spoke out and said, "Go, Florus, go!" "But why then," asked Florus, "goest thou not thyself?" And Agrippinus answered, "Because, Florus, I never deliberate in such matters."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRISON OR A NEW CHANCE—WHICH?

By EDWIN J. COOLEY

DEEPLY as we are moved by the accounts of suffering that come to us today from other lands—particularly the tragic exile of helpless men and women and little children whose only offense, apparently, was that of ever having been born into a savage world, yet we should not blind ourselves to a similar wastage of precious human life of which we are guilty right here within our own borders; the exile of a vast army of fellow beings whose chief (I do not say only) offense against Society was that of ever having been born into it under conditions which foredoomed them from the start.

I am referring now to the one million men, women and children who appeared last year before the bars of justice in this country; five hundred thousand of whom were crammed into our jails and prisons.

Think of it! Five hundred thousand individuals—some of them first offenders, some little children, some victims of disease or ignorance or environment or sudden temptation; countless numbers of them guilty only of minor offenses—were last year pronounced morally incurable by an enlightened Society, and shoved out of sight for a time within the walls of a penal institution, only to be released, with the prison stigma on soul and body, to commit fresh depredations on Society, again to be confined for a time, and again released: an ever-increasing menace and responsibility to the land!

What would be thought of a man who, discovering that he had some grave disease, should try a certain cure, and, finding that it had no beneficial effect upon the disease but rather made it worse, should obstinately continue to employ it? Society is like that man.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All down through the ages Society has endeavored to check crime by brutal severity: by confinement under horrible conditions; by torture; by agony and death. Countless men and women and children have paid the death penalty for petty crimes, in order that this might serve as a warning to other so-called "criminally minded" individuals.

Ask any American citizen for his views on the prison system as an efficacious cure for crime, and he will express the earnest conviction that, necessary as prisons are and will always be for the confinement of the really dangerous criminal, he has never believed that the indiscriminate herding of thousands of men and women and little children—some of them vicious, some minor offenders—together into our penal institutions would ever decrease crime. Stop almost any man on the street, and put the question to him; and it is likely he will give that answer.

Furthermore he will heartily endorse the ideals back of the more humane and constructive systems of criminal jurisprudence, especially probation, which advocates the redemption and rehabilitation of the first offender and his family without commitment to a penal institution.

"But," he will add resignedly, "of course all these new theories are expensive and experimental. The costs are high, and the results uncertain."

That statement being typical, I have quoted it here. And here I shall answer it, out of the truly startling statistics pouring in today from all sections of the country where probation is in operation.

Let me state, to begin with, that the conviction of the average man on this subject (as quoted above) is exactly contrary to the facts. Probation is accomplishing its redemptive work at from one-tenth to one-twentieth what the cost per year of prison maintenance would be for the same individuals. And it is not making experiments; it is yearly (limited though it is to certain sections of the country) redeeming and rehabilitating and restoring to usefulness in society thousands of young and first offenders.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Men on probation support themselves and their families, and they are productive factors in the community. In jail they are liabilities, and very often their families become a burden on the public.

Probation pays: in dollars and cents, and in permanent results. It is the one humane, economical and efficacious method of dealing with the crime problem in any community—in those cases where it can be applied.

But it must be understood that probation cannot accomplish the impossible: such as the restoration to usefulness in society of those individuals whose total destruction has already been brought about: the hardened prostitute, the incurable drug addict, the mental defective, the hopeless alcoholic, the incurably insane, the confirmed criminal. It is a tragic fact that all of these were once first offenders a certain proportion of whom could have been saved to society, had society helped them at the time of their first offense, instead of imprisoning them. The indifference of society is largely responsible for their degradation today. But—that having occurred—they are no longer fit material for the kindly efforts of the probation officer, whose time they will only waste.

Any community, therefore, which contemplates establishing probation, and can afford only a few officers, cannot take a wiser step than to provide at the start for the elimination of this tragic human slag: first, by demanding that the judges place on probation only those believed to be morally curable; and that the mentally and physically defective to be detected and ruled out by means of a thorough mental and physical examination of all offenders. Some sort of clinic, or the use of one, which can weed out these individuals, despatching the sick to hospitals, the insane to asylums, and the dangerous mental defectives to industrial farms or other institutions where they can be self-supporting and yet under close guard, is of vital importance if probation is not to be saddled with hopeless material.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As for the physical defectives: it is often discovered, upon examination, that some disease or organic disturbance is the cause of an offender's inability to support his family; the cause of a boy's waywardness; of a girl's seeming criminality. The idea of imprisoning such a one is hideous. Very often such an offender, after being helped in a tubercular station or city hospital for a time, is found to be a normal human being, ready to take his or her place in society.

We mourn the loss of our boys overseas. We realize what the Nation has suffered in losing them.

Can we, then, be insensible to the loss of those thousands of boys and girls and men and women—so many of them with potentialities for good citizenship—who are yearly being broken on the wheel of reformatory, county jail and prison, at our expense, and thrown back into the world again a burden to themselves and a menace to us all?

Admitting that a small minority of these—let us say one-quarter—is perhaps fit only for the prison or insane asylum, what of the other three-quarters who deserve a better chance, who have in them stuff so good that it ought not to be crushed out, but brought out?

The problem is yours and mine to solve *now*. It is the problem of every tax payer, every voter in the country.

Are we going to go on, shouldering this prison plan, like a Little Old Man of the Sea, feeling it grow ever heavier and heavier? Or are we going to begin now, as a people, to give every worthy first offender his chance, and—looking beyond him to the conditions responsible for his mistake—endeavor in an earnest and consecrated spirit to remove them, making that community a better place to live in?

Probation is not a form of sickly leniency. It is a stern supervision. It demands of the probationer the strictest obedience to its terms. It advises and aids and steadies him while he is getting on his feet. It exacts of him the utmost effort, the most sincere cooperation. Sometimes its terms are very trying. But it spares to him at least two things, his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberty and his self-respect. The stigma of prison is not on him. And he is not confined.

Above all, probation is a vast system of investigation. It makes a close study of every case, getting at first causes. And these investigations reveal things touching and tragic and extenuating behind the misdemeanors of such a vast proportion of our offenders—conditions for which Society is responsible and of which the offenders are victims, that no citizen, after reading those records, could have any doubt as to his responsibility in the matter.

Has it ever occurred to you that today some petty offender—a young boy, let us say—is being thrust into a penal institution for lack of any other system in his locality, who will, so long as you live and pay your taxes, be a burden on your income? For one penal term means another. And the boy who is started down that road, seldom travels any other.

Out in the world, under the guidance of a probation officer, that boy could be earning his living, if you cared today to afford him the opportunity. It would remove a dead weight from your income. And another weight from your heart.

Multiply that boy by the thousands, and the hundred thousands: and the magnitude of the burden will be apparent.

I know of a man of seventy-eight who has spent over forty years of his life in the penitentiary. He was sent there first for a minor offense! Probation would have saved him. He might today have been your respected neighbor, your fellow club member, the leading merchant of your town. Instead, what is he? Sad rubbish from a past generation.

Sixty-five years ago, when he was a juvenile offender, nobody cared.

Do we care today?

Have we advanced one step as a people? Or are we going to go on, dully grinding out more like him, to hand on, as our legacy of enlightenment to the generation to come?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AROUND THE EDITORIAL TABLE

SENATOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON will return to this country from Europe in July to find the Republican party eagerly awaiting for his first statement. The eagerness will not be unmixed with other emotions for there are many friends of President Harding who feel that his leadership threatens the President's continuance in office.

Up to the present time Senator Johnson has given no statement that would justify a certain belief that he will unquestionably be a candidate against President Harding. On the other hand, there are a great many of the Progressives who followed Roosevelt in 1912 who believe that whether he wishes it or not, the Senator from California is going to have wished on him the leadership of that wing of the party. As in 1910 when Roosevelt returned from Africa there are many strong elements in the party who are dissatisfied with the Administration and who believe that there must be a new leadership. It is quite possible that Senator Johnson will be content to exercise his influence without being a candidate against Mr. Harding and wait for 1928 as an outlet for whatever personal ambitions he may have. All will depend on the attitude that President Harding takes in his World Court campaign. Should he decide to fight, then he will unquestionably find himself at loggerheads with Senator Johnson and the other Senate leaders. Should the President try to force a vote in the Senate, it will undoubtedly cost him the nomination, for unhealthy as blocs are in government, they are even more disturbing in conventions and a Senate bloc in the next Republican convention that will be led by Johnson, Moses, McCormick, Borah, Lodge and Watson will come very near being a majority "bloc."

It is a curious phase of the political situation and one little commented on, that one of the main reasons for Sentator Johnson's growing strength has little relation to the much mooted League of Nations. The fight in 1912 lead by Roosevelt and Johnson was a fight against the conduct of the reactionary leadership in the Republican party, culminating in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

outrageous action of the Republican convention when it disregarded the expressed wish of the party voters at the primaries. Roosevelt became the embodiment of the fight for popular government. He had always been the opponent of the bosses, although he had dealt with them when it was necessary. After the debacle of 1912 when the regular Republican candidate, Mr. Taft, carried only two states—the smallest in electoral votes at that, Utah and Vermont—it was assumed that the reactionary element had learned its lesson. In nominating Mr. Hughes in 1916 a broad gesture was made to the progressive thinking voters, for Mr. Hughes had made his last political fight against the Barnes machine in New York in favor of the direct primary.

With the passing of Penrose, Cannon, Murray Crane, etc., it was assumed that this element was no longer the dominating one in the Republican party, but unfortunately today, there is a recrudescence of reactionaryism, and young men whom one might expect would be influenced by the ideals of Roosevelt are openly and somewhat blatantly talking about the dangers of popular government and the necessity of "checks" on popular rule, forgetting entirely the fact that when the Founders of our government talked about "checks" they were thinking of the restraints that they were putting on the elected representatives and not of the restraints that were being put on the people. Unfortunately, the President himself in one of his recent speeches has talked about representative government in this same careless way, as if the American people, when they had once elected a representative, were under some kind of bond to allow that representative to work out his own will without regard to what the people desired.

Frequently one hears in high places men of seeming intelligence declare that the reason we have representatives of small calibre in office is that the people have too much to say about their selection. We have heard even Cabinet Ministers lament the passing of the convention system, pointing out at the same time that it was under the convention system that the Senate produced some of its greatest intellectual figures. Unfortunately, the mourners over this old system forget that the very same intellectual figures referred to were at one time or another revealed to be either on the payroll or under the direct dominance of some large corporation or trust.

The amendment to the Constitution providing for the popular election of Senators was brought about by the exposure of the conditions that existed under the convention system. Everyone who knows anything about

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the old political convention where the delegates were elected by the local boss under the direction of the state boss knows that never for a single moment did they represent popular rule. That there should be at this time any large body of men who would assume that the people will ever again permit the politicians, for any length of time, to dominate exclusively party politics is astounding. Unfortunately for the Republican party, there is, especially in the east, such a body of men and it is because this exists that many who have no direct interest either in the League of Nations or in the World Court are waiting for Hiram Johnson to return that they may have as a leader and as a spokesman one who is not befogged by the reactionary sophistries that are so popular today, especially in New York and the other large eastern cities.

* * *

In many and strange quarters one hears more and more discussion about the possibility of the Third Party. Conservative business men who, as a rule, pay little attention to politics are discussing it as a means of bringing into existence an organization that will offer to business some relief from the high taxes. "A plague on both parties," they declare, "for both are dominated by the radical element."

Then there is the Third Party movement that is to be lead by Henry Ford—a party dedicated to fiat money, peace ships, etc.—the party emblem of which will probably be the squirrel. There are the Progressives who believe in Senator Borah and feel that he could win. There are the Republicans who feel that President Harding is leading them astray and astounding as it may seem one of the leading journalists of America recently gave expression to the thought that if both parties should be committed to the League of Nations platform, he and men like himself would lead another 1912 movement.

In all of this there seems to be forgotten the fact that one of the greatest political leaders of the last fifty years failed in 1912 in his endeavor to organize a Third Party, and no man in our time was ever better equipped than was this same Theodore Roosevelt. If, with a vital force such as Theodore Roosevelt was, a commanding figure both in council and on the rostrum, the dissatisfied were unable to launch successfully what now seems to be so widely desired, how little would be the chances of a Third Party today, when leadership is almost unknown.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISCUSSIONS ABOUT BOOKS

LINCOLN AS MAN OF LETTERS *

THE last few years witnessed an extraordinary growth of the general interest in Lincoln, not only in this country, but also abroad. Partly it has been due to the natural and universal increase in the recognition of Lincoln as a great world figure, probably America's greatest. Even more, perhaps, the cause has lain in the bewilderment, the disillusion, which the last decade has brought to all thinking men. We have come to doubt the validity, the value, of our previous and traditional estimate of our democratic ideals and we have turned, almost unconsciously, to seek support for our faltering beliefs in Lincoln's life and works.

This book treats of the life only incidentally. It is, rather, a thorough and illuminating study of Lincoln's achievement in the field of letters. Prof. Robinson traces the gradual development in the form and substance of the Great Emanicpator's letters and public pronouncements from the beginnings in New Salem to the immortal prose of the years in Washington. He describes and illustrates the gradual disappearance of what he calls the pioneer manner so evident in the early speeches and letters as Lincoln, by reading steadily and persistently, by striving always to educate himself, taught himself to speak and to write.

The author analyzes Lincoln's genius carefully and comes to the conclusion that it was mainly critical and interpretative rather than creative. Whether he would have been able, had he been given the time and the opportunity to acquire the necessary equipment, to write creative and imaginative literature is an unanswerable question. Prof. Robinson thinks that he would. He did, in any event, introduce a new and far more effective fashion of public speaking, for he was the first to escape from the classical tradition of profuseness and elaborately rounded periods to a short, pithy, simple style.

Lincoln's achievements in the Civil War years, when he had learned to give full and complete utterance to the thoughts and feelings within him, are fully described. He had long before learned to combine the emotional and intellectual elements of style, the romantic and the classical Now his style acquired that rhythm, that perfect harmony of thought and

* *"Abraham Lincoln As a Man of Letters,"* by Luther Emerson Robinson, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

word, which places the Gettysburg Address, the letter to Mrs. Bixby, and the Second Inaugural, among our greatest English prose. In the Gettysburg Address, particularly, he gave proof of that simplicity, that severe classic restraint, which denotes the supreme artist. In Prof. Robinson's words, "Like Angelo, he arrived at beeauty by striking out the superfluous."

It is, however, the spirit and the substance, more than the form, necessary as that is, which distinguishes the greatest literature. It is the sanity, the extraordinary inclusiveness of the comprehension of human nature revealed in his best letters and speeches, which mark Lincoln as a great man of letters, unsurpassed in his field.

The final chapter includes an account of Lincoln's taste in reading. The reviewer was struck by his preferring the soliloquy in Hamlet beginning, "Oh, my offence is rank," to the better known, "To be or not to be," a preference shared by Prof. Kittredge, our greatest Shakespearean scholar.

In an appendix all of Lincoln's most famous letters and speeches are included, together with extracts from many others and one hitherto unpublished letter.

Prof. Robinson's arrangement of his material and his style are both thoroughly satisfactory. Every once in a while the reader discovers some peculiarly illuminating phrase, as when he speaks of Lincoln's being suspected of infidelity "by the over-confidently pious." He does twice introduce unnecessary and irrelevant attacks on Germany, but that may be explained by the fact that the book was written during the war. The volume shows, on the whole, a rather unique treatment of Lincoln—well worth reading.

ROBERT C. FLACK.

---

*HAMILTON'S VOICE TODAY**

THE moving principle of this book is at once apparent. The author, like so many other conservatives, has looked out on a world in confusion, almost in chaos, in which new and radical and frequently subversive ideals have won many followers; the sight has made him fear for the future of his country. He has decided that the only remedy lies in a return to the wisdom of the Founders and of the Constitution, which was their supreme achievement, which is, still today, in Mr. Vandenberg's words, as fundamental as the laws of gravity. Hamilton was the great original exponent of the Constitution. It is by his precepts and in his very words, the words of "The Federalist," that

* *"If Hamilton Were Here Today,"* by Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Vandenberg would point out the safe, the sure road to follow in the evolution of our American polity. He has not always, of course, been able to find definite and exact quotations from Hamilton to fit every modern problem. Where such are lacking, he has, in the main very plausibly, deduced from some general principle of Hamilton's a particular and a modern application. There is, consequently, in the present volume fully as much of Mr. Vandenberg as of Hamilton.

The author has weakened his case by claiming too much for his hero. The reader is more likely to be made suspicious than to be convinced by his almost frantic adulation of Hamilton, who is variously referred to as "the greatest 'progressive' of the days of the foundation"—the italics are mine—as "the greatest American." "The Federalist" is, similarly, called "the mightiest homily on government ever issued from the pen of man." If the reader knows better, or thinks he does, he is apt to doubt, along with the estimate of Hamilton, the truth of Mr. Vandenberg's theses.

Our modern divergences from the principles of the Constitution are classified into three main divisions; each is fully discussed. The first is the modern tendency to disregard the system of checks and balances, the absolute separation of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of our government. The present attack on the Federal Judiciary, and especially on the power of the Supreme Court to pass on constitutionality of Congressional legislation, is vigorously condemned. The necessity of this power as a means of retaining the balance insisted on in the Constitution, as a check on Congress, which must be regarded as a potential Elective Despotism, is explained and proved by excerpts from "The Federalist." A short but illuminating account of the history of the Supreme Court is here included.

The second topic is the influence of what the Fathers called Faction on government. The author urges the compulsory adjudication of disputes between Capital and Labor in essential industries. Other factions are exposed and attacked, from blocs in Congress to the I. W. W. Mr. Vandenberg asserts the principle that, in general, the freedom of the individual must be instantly and sharply restrained by the government at the point where it begins to restrict the freedom of another individual. In this part of the book the references to the dicta of "The Federalist" are necessarily more vague, for the particular problems discussed have mostly arisen since Hamilton's day.

The last issue is our modern leaning toward pure democracy, which Mr. Vandenberg says "smacks of the commune," as contrasted with the Fathers', with Hamilton's, plan for a representative republic. The author argues for shorter ballots and, consequently, more responsibility; he argues

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the direct popular election of presidents, which would make it possible for a big majority in one or two of the large industrial states to swamp smaller majorities in twenty of the less populous states. To give such power to the urban and frequently radical population would be, in his view, a calamity. He here supports what Prof. Channing has described as a government of acres rather than men.

In the last chapter Hamilton's probable opinions on a multitude of modern problems are given at less length.

The author's style is often jerky and disjointed. His attitude toward those who disagree with him lacks urbanity; his tone is too frequently crudely belligerent, which tends to make a reader who does not think entirely as he does more violently opposed to the author's propositions than they themselves would warrant. It is the sort of book, in any event, about which people will disagree strongly—you think it either very good or very bad. In either case, however, you have to admit that it is a good statement of the conversative's viewpoint that it at least makes you think about the issues which Mr. Vandenberg raises. R. C. F.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

and

MISCELLANEOUS ADDRESSES

by William D. Guthrie

Of the New York Bar, for ten years Ruggles Professor of Constitutional Law at Columbia University

A book of timely interest for thinkers. A clear analysis of one of the most important topics of the day, by the author of "Magna Carta and other Addresses."

8vo. Cloth, $2.00

At all Book Stores

Published by

Columbia University Press

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Ideal Summer Vacations

BERMUDA

Only 2 Days from New York

Summer Vacation Tours

8 Days-$83.00 and up

Including All Expenses

All Outdoor Sports

Sailing, Bathing, Golf, Tennis, Crystal Caves, Sea Gardens, etc.

No Passports Required

Sailings Twice Weekly

Via Palatial Twin-Screw, Oil Burning, Transatlantic Liners

S. S. "Fort Victoria" and S. S. "Fort St. George"

12 DAY Canadian *cruises*

New York-Halifax-Quebec

4 Delightful Yachting Cruises

via Palatial Twin-Screw S. S. "Fort Hamilton"

Leaving New York July 7-21 and Aug. 4-18

Stopping One Day (each way) at Halifax and Two Days at Quebec. Magnificent Scenery, Smooth Water, Cool Weather, Orchestra for Dancing.

For Illustrated Booklets on Bermuda Summer Tours or Canadian Cruises write

FURNESS BERMUDA LINE

34 Whitehall St., N. Y., or any Local Tourist Agt.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

UPTON CLOSE is a journalist whose experience during the last seven eventful years in the Orient included the editing of several newspapers, explorations in the famine and earthquake regions of China, and service on the staff of General Wu-Pei-fu.

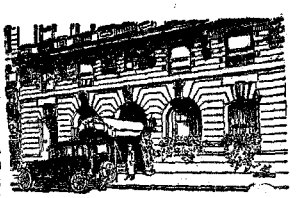
ARTHUR SYMONS, WILLIAM GEORGE JORDAN, WILLIAM GRANT BROWN, ALBERT HOWE LYBYER, and Hon. JOHN F. HYLAN have all contributed to previous issues of THE FORUM.

HOTEL ST. JAMES

TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY

Just off Broadway at 109-113 West 45th St. Much favored by women traveling without escort. "Sunshine in every room"

An Hotel of quiet dignity, having the atmosphere and appointments of a well conditioned home.



40 Theatres, all principal shops and churches, 3 to 5 minutes' walk.

2 minutes of all subways, "L" roads, surface cars, bus lines.

Within 3 minutes Grand Central, 5 minutes Pennsylvania Terminals.

Send postal for rates and booklet

W. JOHNSON QUINN, President

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of "The Forum," published monthly at New York, New York, for May 1, 1923, State of New York, County of New York, before me a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Miss Jean Cowan, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of "The Forum" and that the following is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Forum Printing Corporation, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York City; Editor, George Henry Payne, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York City; Managing Editor, Ronald Tree, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York City, Business Manager, Miss Jean Cowan, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

2. That the owners are: The Forum Printing Corporation, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York City; George Henry Payne, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York City; Edwin Wildman, 461 Eighth Avenue, New York City, Frederick Boyd Stevenson, Corner Washington and Johnson Streets, Brooklyn, N. Y.; The Audubon Securities Corporation, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City, W. B. Stratton, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City, and K. H. Williams, 3540 Mooney Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio (they holding 1% or more stock in the Audubon Securities Corp.).

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: Julia Barnett Rice, Isaac L. Rice, Jr., Julian Rice, Trustees of the Estate of Isaac L. Rice.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is.....

(Signed) Miss JEAN COWAN, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of April, 1923.

(Signed) PAUL STAHEL.

(My commission expires March 30th, 1924.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED